

# *Public Administration*



INDEX TO VOLUME XVII, 1939

*The Journal of the  
Institute of Public Administration*

Vol. XVII

1939



# Contents

	ISSUE	PAGE
ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA . . . . .	January	3
By THE RT. HON. SIR JOHN ANDERSON, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., M.P.		
THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES . . . . .	"	10
By SIR HENRY N. BUNBURY, K.C.B.		
THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS CONCERNED WITH SCOTTISH AFFAIRS—A GENERAL REVIEW . . . . .	"	20
By SIR JOHN JEFFREY, K.C.B., C.B.E.		
ROAD ADMINISTRATION . . . . .	"	32
By SIR LEONARD BROWETT, K.C.B., C.B.E.		
OUTLINE OF THE SCOTTISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM (I) HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT, by J. B. Frizell, B.L., A.L.A.A.	"	47
THE PUBLIC'S PART IN ADMINISTRATION . . . . .	April	117
By A. G. HIGGET, C. G. BROWNE and ALEC SPOOR.		
SCOTTISH DEPARTMENTS (II) THE LORD ADVOCATE'S DEPARTMENT AND THE CRIMINAL COURTS, by J. S. C. Reid, K.C., M.P.	"	164
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND By P. J. ROSE, C.B.	"	170
INSPECTORATES AS A LINK BETWEEN CENTRAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES (a) THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH IN RELATION TO PUBLIC ASSISTANCE, by John Moss	July	233
(b) THE MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT, by H. R. Hepworth, M.Inst.C.E., F.S.I.	"	246
PRINCIPLES OF HIGHER CONTROL . . . . .	"	253
By J. T. FOXELL.		
MUNICIPAL TRADING (a) WATER, by Norman Pugh, A.M.Inst.C.E., M.Inst.W.E.	"	276
(b) ELECTRICITY, by C. R. Westlake, M.I.E.E.	"	293
EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND (II) THE UNIT OF ADMINISTRATION, by J. B. Frizell, B.L., A.L.A.A.	"	307
THE INSTITUTE AND THE WAR EMERGENCY	October	339

## Contents—continued

	ISSUE	PAGE
PUBLIC SERVICES—WHAT VALUE ? . . . . .	October	341
By SIR GWILYM GIBBON, C.B., C.B.E., D.Sc.		
SOCIAL SERVICES CARRIED ON BY VOLUNTARY AGENCIES . . . . .	"	350
By MISS A. ASHLEY, M.A.		
THE ADMINISTRATION OF VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICES . . . . .	"	355
By RICHARD CLEMENTS.		
SOME RANDOM COMMENTS ON BRITISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT . . . . .	"	365
By MILTON E. LOOMIS.		
TOWN PLANNING IN THE COUNTY OF LONDON . . . . .	"	373
By H. BERRY.		
LOCAL AUTHORITY FINANCE AND WAR . . . . .	"	388
By J. SYKES.		
CO-OPERATION BETWEEN LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND THE ELECTORATE . . . . .	"	395
By G. MONTAGU HARRIS.		
EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS AND DIFFERENTIAL RECRUITMENT TO THE PUBLIC SERVICE . . . . .	"	414
By R. S. PARKER, B.Ec.		

## Notes

PROMOTION PROCEDURE—WHITLEY COMMITTEE'S REPORT . . . . .	January	101
By A. J. WALDEGRAVE, I.S.O.		
EFFICIENCY IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES THREE PAPERS SUBMITTED TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE I.P.A., ADELAIDE, SEPTEMBER, 1938 . . . . .	"	104
A.R.P.: A MOCK CITY COUNCIL . . . . .	April	212
PROMOTIONS IN RHODESIA . . . . .	"	213
By A. J. WALDEGRAVE, I.S.O.		
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON—DIPLOMA IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—EXAMINATION RESULTS . . . . .	October	442



# Reviews

<i>Author of Book</i>	<i>Short Title</i>	<i>Author of Review</i>	<i>PAGE</i>
HAROLD J. LASKI - -	<i>Parliamentary Government in England</i>	A. C. Stewart -	62
H. R. G. GREAVES -	<i>The British Constitution - -</i>	Leslie Lipson -	66
-	<i>Nineteenth Annual Report of the Ministry of Health</i>	Sir I. G. Gibbon -	69
E. T. CRUTCHLEY, C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E.	G.P.O. - - - - -	G. H. Stuart-Bunning - -	71
SIR WILLIAM CRAWFORD, K.B.E., and H. BROADLEY	<i>The People's Food - - - -</i>	R. F. George -	74
HILDA MARTINDALE, C.B.E.	<i>Women Servants of the State -</i>	Mrs. E. M. White-	77
CONSTANCE BRAITHWAITE	<i>The Voluntary Citizen - - -</i>	Miss D. Smyth -	80
EARL E. MUNTZ, Ph.D. -	<i>Survey of the Modern City—Urban Sociology</i>	C. Kent Wright -	82
J. P. R. MAUD - -	<i>City Government—Johannesburg Experiment</i>	J. B. Frizell -	84
ERNEST S. GRIFFITH -	<i>American Cities—History of American City Government—Colonial Period</i>	W. A. Ross - -	93
M. W. STRAUSS and TALBOT WEGG	<i>Housing in America—Housing Comes of Age</i>	Dr. M. S. Miller -	96
COLEMAN WOODBURY -	<i>Housing Year Book, 1938 - -</i>	Dr. M. S. Miller -	96
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE	<i>Labour Courts - - - -</i>	G. H. Stuart-Bunning - -	98
SIR GWILYM GIBBON and REGINALD BELL	<i>History of the London County Council</i>	Lady Shena D. Simon - -	178
WM. A. ROBSON - -	<i>The Government and Misgovernment of London</i>	Sir I. Gwilym Gibbon	180
NORMAN WILSON - -	<i>Public Health Services - - -</i>	C. M. M. Culver-Evans - -	183
DRUMMOND and MARSHALL	<i>Consolidated Loans Funds of Authorities</i>	Eric Maxwell -	185
JOSEPH SYKES - -	<i>A Study in English Local Authority Finance</i>	Hugh R. Ralph -	188

## Reviews—continued

<i>Author of Book</i>	<i>Short Title</i>	<i>Author of Review</i>	<i>PAGE</i>
CHAS. KNEIER - - -	<i>Illustrative Materials in Municipal Government and Administration</i>	T. S. Simey - -	191
T. S. SMYTH - - -	<i>The Civic History of the Town of Cavan</i>		
W. IVOR JENNINGS and GEO. J. COLE	<i>The Law of Food and Drugs</i> -	A. W. Purvis -	193
N.A.I.G.O. - - -	<i>The Fight for Superannuation</i> -	G. H. Stuart-Bunning - -	195
BY A SURVEY COM- MITTEE	<i>A Survey of the Social Services in the Oxford District</i> (1) <i>Economics and Government of a Changing Area</i>	P. Ford - -	198
F. G. THOMAS - - -	<i>The Changing Village</i> - - -		
DOUGLAS W. ORR, M.D., and JEAN WALKER ORR	<i>Health Insurance with Medical Care—The British Experience</i>	G. F. McCleary -	203
BRITISH MEDICAL ASSO- CIATION	<i>Annual Report of the Council, 1937-8</i>	T. Maling - -	205
ATKINSON, ODENCRANTZ and DEMING	<i>Public Employment Service in the United States</i>	J. S. Coventry -	208
C. KENT WRIGHT - -	<i>The A.B.C. of Local Government</i> -	D. N. Chester, M.A. - - -	322
E. B. MCGUIRE - -	<i>The British Tariff System</i> - -	J. H. Wilson -	323
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PLANNING	<i>Report on the Gas Industry of Great Britain</i>	G. H. Stuart-Bunning - -	325
GEO. G. BRUNTZ - -	<i>Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of the German Empire in 1918</i>	F. R. Cowell -	328
J. C. DRUMMOND and ANNE WILBRAHAM	<i>The Englishman's Food</i> - -	F. R. Cowell -	330
—	<i>Studies of the Origin and Growth of the Government Departments concerned with Scottish Affairs</i>	Sir I. Gwilym Gibbon - -	434
W. S. WOYTINSKY -	<i>Labour in the United States: Basic Statistics for Social Security</i>	Colin Clark - -	435
G. ERIC MITCHELL -	<i>Model Building By-Laws Illustrated</i>	C. D. - - -	436
C. KENT WRIGHT - -	<i>Men, Women and Marriage</i> -	Sydney Larkin -	438
—	<i>Managing Low-Rent Housing</i> -	Margaret Miller -	439

# Book Notes

<i>Author of Book</i>	<i>Short Title</i>	<i>Author of Review</i>	<i>PAGE</i>
B. M. SHARMA - -	<i>Recent Experiments in Constitution Making</i>	H. R. G. G. - -	111
—	<i>South African Journal of Economics, September, 1938, Vol. VI, No. 3</i>	J. K. - - -	111
YENCHING UNIVERSITY -	<i>The Yenching Journal of Social Studies, June, 1938, Vol. I, No. 1</i>	J. S. C. - -	112
MUNICIPAL JOURNAL, LTD.	<i>The Municipal Year Book and Encyclopedia of Local Government Administration</i>	— -	218
—	<i>The Economic Record. The Journal of the Economic Society of Australia and New Zealand. Vol. XIV, No. 26, June, 1938</i>	J. K. - - -	218
—	<i>The Economic Record, Vol. XIV, No. 27, December, 1938</i>	J. K. - - -	220
HILDA MARTINDALE -	<i>Women Servants of the State</i>	E. Sanday - -	220
R. S. LAMBERT - -	<i>Propaganda</i>	F. R. C. - -	223
A. J. MACKENZIE - -	<i>Propaganda Boom</i>		
I.L.O. - - -	<i>Economical Administration of Health Insurance Benefits</i>	H. A. - - -	223
A. N. C. SHELLEY - -	<i>The Councillor</i>	I. G. G. - -	224
HERBERT TOUT, M.A. -	<i>The Standard of Living in Bristol</i>	J. S. C. - -	224
UNIV. PRESS, LIVERPOOL	<i>Historical Studies in the Development of Local Government Services in Edinburgh, Series III, 1937-8</i>	C. K. W. - -	225
RUTH G. WEINTRAUB, J.D.	<i>Government Corporations and State Law</i>	A. W. P. - -	226
W. C. BERWICK SAYERS	<i>Library Local Collections</i>	L. M. H. - -	226
—	<i>The Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Public Administration, Vol. I, No. 2, December, 1938</i>	A. J. W. - -	227
—	<i>The Journal of the New South Wales Institute of Public Administration, September and December, 1938</i>		

# Book Notes—continued

<i>Author of Book</i>	<i>Short Title</i>	<i>Author of Review</i>	<i>PAGE</i>
—	<i>Revue Internationale des Sciences Administratives, October, November and December, 1938</i>	A. W. P. - -	228
—	<i>Yenching Journal of Social Studies, January, 1939</i>	J. S. C. - -	229
—	<i>The American Municipal Year Book, 1939</i>	Editor's Note -	333
—	<i>South African Journal of Economics — December, 1938, and March, 1939</i>	J. K. - - -	333
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOUSING OFFICIALS, CHICAGO	<i>Housing Year Book, 1939</i> - -	M. M. - - -	443
J. K. POLLOCK - -	<i>The Government of Greater Germany</i>	H. R. G. G. -	444
—	<i>Revue Internationale des Sciences Administratives— January, February and March, 1939, and April, May and June, 1939</i>	A. W. P. - -	444-5
L. STANLEY JAST - -	<i>The Library and the Community</i> -	H. - - -	446
JOHN McDIARMID - -	<i>Government Corporations and Federal Funds</i>	T. H. O'B. - -	446

# Public Administration

The Journal of the Institute of Public Administration  
Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, S.W.1

Vol. XVII.—No. 1 **CONTENTS** *January, 1939.*

	PAGE
ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA, by The Rt. Hon. Sir John Anderson, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., M.P. - - - - -	3
THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, by Sir Henry N. Bunbury, K.C.B. - - - - -	10
THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS CON- CERNED WITH SCOTTISH AFFAIRS—A GENERAL REVIEW—By Sir John Jeffrey, K.C.B., C.B.E. - - - - -	20
ROAD ADMINISTRATION, by Sir Leonard Browett, K.C.B., C.B.E. -	32
OUTLINE OF THE SCOTTISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM—(I) HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT, by J. B. Frizell, B.L., A.L.A.A. - - - - -	47
REVIEWS : See next page.	
NOTES :	
Promotion Procedure—Whitley Committee's Report, 'by A. J. Waldegrave - - - - -	101
Efficiency in the Public Services } B. M. Combe, A.U.A. - - -	104
(Three papers submitted to } A. H. Greenham, A.C.U.A. -	106
the Conference of the I.P.A. } J. M. Donaldson, A.U.A. -	108
Adelaide, September, 1938)	
BOOK NOTES : See next page.	
INSTITUTE NOTES AND NEWS - - - - -	114

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Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.1.

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LONDON: THE INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION,  
Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.1.

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# Reviews

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HAROLD J. LASKI - -	<i>Parliamentary Government in England</i>	A. C. Stewart -	62
H. R. G. GREAVES -	<i>The British Constitution - -</i>	Leslie Lipson -	66
-	<i>Nineteenth Annual Report of the Ministry of Health</i>	Sir I. Gwilym Gibbon -	69
E. T. CRUTCHLEY, C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E.	G.P.O. - - - - -	G. H. Stuart-Bunning -	71
SIR WILLIAM CRAWFORD, K.B.E., and H. BROADLEY	<i>The People's Food - - - -</i>	R. F. George -	74
HILDA MARTINDALE, C.B.E.	<i>Women Servants of the State -</i>	Mrs. E. M. White	77
CONSTANCE BRAITHWAITE	<i>The Voluntary Citizen - - -</i>	Miss D. Smyth -	80
EARL E. MUNTZ, Ph.D. -	<i>Survey of the Modern City—Urban Sociology</i>	C. Kent Wright -	82
JOHN P. R. MAUD - -	<i>City Government—The Johannesburg Experiment</i>	J. B. Frizell -	84
ERNEST S. GRIFFITH -	<i>American Cities—History of American City Government—The Colonial Period</i>	W. A. Ross -	93
MICHAEL W. STRAUSS and TALBOT WEGG	<i>Housing in America—Housing Comes of Age</i>	} Dr. Margaret S. Miller	96
COLEMAN WOODBURY -	<i>Housing Year Book, 1938 - -</i>		
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE	<i>Labour Courts - - - - -</i>	G. H. Stuart-Bunning -	98

# Book Notes

B. M. SHARMA - -	<i>Recent Experiments in Constitution Making</i>	H. R. G. G. -	111
-	<i>South African Journal of Economics—September, 1938, Vol. 6, No. 3</i>	J. K. - - -	111
YENCHING UNIVERSITY -	<i>The Yenching Journal of Social Studies—June, 1938, Vol. 1, No. 1</i>	J. S. C. - -	112

# Administration in India

By The RT. HON. SIR JOHN ANDERSON, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., M.P.

*[Inaugural Address to the 1938-39 Session of the Institute of  
Public Administration]*

WHEN at the command of our President, who made it quite clear, I may say, that he was determined to exact obedience, I agreed to inaugurate the Winter Session of the Institute, my subject, "Administration in India," seemed a natural one to choose in making contact with you for the first time since my return. It had also the great advantage from my purely selfish point of view that I felt I should be able to gather the necessary material together with a minimum of effort by drawing on recollections still fresh in my mind. It is perhaps just as well that I gave way to these unworthy impulses, for I have been so heavily burdened during the recent crisis in our national affairs that if I had not done so, but had chosen some subject requiring research, I fear there would have been no address for me to deliver to you this afternoon.

Now, may I begin by giving you some first impressions. When I arrived in Calcutta on a brilliant morning at the end of March, with the temperature already, at 9 a.m., over 100 degrees in the shade, and had struggled through the unaccustomed and rather exacting formalities of a public arrival, I felt as if in exchanging the Home Office for Bengal I had passed, if not from the frying pan into the fire, at any rate from a placid backwater into a boiling cauldron. But having changed into a silk suit and sat for a time under a fan in the lofty well-shaded room which was to be the scene of most of my labours for the next five years I began to feel better, and when presently my admirable Private Secretary made his entrance with two armfuls of files I soon made myself quite at home. That sharp contrast between Eastern pomp and ceremony, which has no counterpart here, and very ordinary desk slogging was my first impression of official life in India and its novelty never quite wore off. My next impressions were also of surprise at finding first how closely official routine had been modelled upon procedure at home and then how

## *Public Administration*

much harder the average person seemed to work in India than here. Perhaps I had been exceptionally indolent as a civil servant, but certainly, speaking for myself, I had never put in so many hours of real work in a day over a long stretch as I did in Bengal. I believe that in spite of climate and everything else that is true not only of the Government services but of business firms also. I have been somewhat puzzled in seeking for an explanation but I think I have discovered it. I believe it is due partly to the greater difficulty of delegation. The long tradition of personal rule in India has something to do with it. People expect personal attention and have not become accustomed to the idea of an impersonal agency for responsible duties. That does not apply in the lower ranks; all the clerks in any secretarial department are thought of and refer to themselves in terms of "Office": "Office" puts up the precedents, writes the routine drafts and despatches the letters. The more responsible functionaries cannot shelter behind the screen of anonymity which if I remember aright provoked the Lord Chief Justice to some bitter comment in "The New Despotism." The other contributory cause is, I think, the leave system. Leave is saved up to be taken in large chunks usually with a complete change of scene and climate. The psychological effect is to accentuate the differentiation of work from leisure. I am afraid that very often a man works himself to a standstill in order to add a little extra to the leave due to him.

I have said that official routine is closely modelled on procedure at home. That requires a little qualification. One of the great handicaps under which business is conducted in India is lack of continuity. Leave, illness, death and the consequent chains of transfers often result in several changes in the tenure of a post during a single year. This is reflected in procedure. There is more routine noting and files become more unwieldy. One other feature calls for notice. The Secretariat, though divided into separate Ministries, conducts its internal business as if it were a single organisation. The normal method of inter-communication, for example, is by transmission of files not by letter, and subordinate staff are still to a large extent organised in common cadres. These features are of course a survival from the early days when one secretariat served the Lieutenant-Governor for all purposes. I doubt whether they will persist very long under the new conditions. Apart from the saving of time and stationery that results, the knowledge that the other fellow will see all one's office minutes no doubt imposes a salutary restraint upon inter-departmental controversy and financial control becomes at once more intelligent and more effective if the inner history of a proposal is laid bare in that way; but, despite these not insignificant public advantages, I think the development of the doctrine of personal



## *Administration in India*

responsibility of Ministers will lead before long to the erection of the usual protective barriers.

In general, however, secretarial organisation and procedure follow the lines to which we are accustomed at home. It is when we go outside the Secretariat to the districts that a fundamental, and from the point of view of organisation very interesting, difference is apparent. You all know, of course, that until quite recently Government in India was carried on under a system of personal rule. That was the traditional form of government before the advent of the British raj—what the Indian calls to this day Ma-bap Government—and when we came on the scene we found the system well adapted to our purposes. It was, indeed, so long as communications were slow and difficult, the only possible system. The District Magistrate held undisputed sway within his district. All power was centred in him and his word was law. There remains to this day one district in Bengal where those conditions still obtain. Ministers have no control, for the district is not represented in the legislature. Such technical services as Education, Public Health, Agriculture and Public Works are under the sole direction of the Magistrate, though he can borrow technical staff from the departments in Calcutta and obtain other skilled advice when he asks for it. In that district, which is the home of a number of primitive tribes and is an example of what is called in the Government of India Act a “totally excluded area,” there are no separate Civil Courts and the High Court has no jurisdiction. Even in Darjeeling District, where conditions are very different, the Magistrate exercises civil as well as criminal jurisdiction and acts either personally or by deputy as chairman of all local government bodies. That district on the other hand is represented in the legislature and Ministers have jurisdiction though ultimate control is vested in the Governor. The jurisdiction of the High Court is the same as in other districts in the Province. I mention these examples of a “totally excluded” and a “partially excluded area” as they represent interesting survivals of different stages of a process of evolution which the administrative system in India has undergone over a period of nearly a century. The first departure from the unitary system of district control was made when civil justice was organised under a separate body of District and Subordinate Judges. That happened so long ago in the more settled districts that the change is only of historical interest and I need not comment on it further. I may mention, however, in passing that there is now a growing demand for the transfer of the original criminal jurisdiction which the District Magistrates still retain in all districts. The next inroad upon the powers of the District Magistrate was made when the Central Government decided about the year 1882 to set

## *Public Administration*

about organising a system of local government bodies on western lines. The indigenous system of local government was of a very primitive type, consisting as it did of bodies of village elders, panchayats as they were called, who did no more than undertake the organisation and supervision of communal activities in a single village or small group of villages. The Union Boards, District Boards and Municipalities contemplated under Lord Ripon's scheme represented an entirely new departure. The powers entrusted to them were much the same as those of the corresponding bodies at home but, on the principle of hastening slowly, the authorities formerly responsible for the exercise of those powers were not immediately dispossessed. The gap was bridged by making the District Officers or their Deputies ex-officio chairmen of the new bodies, by giving them wide supervisory functions, and by including a considerable nominated element in the bodies themselves. The growing spirit of nationalism has led to the gradual disappearance of these safeguards.

The first great change in the position of the District Officers came about, however, with the appointment, under the Montague Chelmsford Reform Scheme in 1921, of Ministers to take charge of what were called the "nation building" departments, Education, Public Health, Agriculture, Industries and Co-operative Societies, to name the most important. The first consequences of this change were somewhat disturbing, not to say demoralising. I am not speaking now of the political repercussions, which were bad enough, but of the consequent readjustments in the administrative machine. Authority no longer radiated from a single centre in each district. Over about half the field of administration it began to flow through a new system of channels direct from provincial headquarters. Naturally District Officers did not quite know where they stood and the people must have been equally puzzled. Anyone who is able to picture the position of a District Officer before the reforms will realise what it meant to have to tell a zemindar who wanted his blessing for a proposal to found a school or a dispensary or a cultivator who sought advice about his cattle or his crops that these things were now settled from Calcutta and he was no longer concerned. It affected his prestige in the eyes of his people and must have weakened his sense of responsibility and damped his enthusiasm. It was a clean break with tradition. The thought that his ultimate destiny was to become a mere custodian of law and order and a tax-gatherer must have weighed heavily on many an officer. I daresay different officials reacted in different ways. Many, I expect, put a brave face on things and managed to keep their end up without much difficulty. But for the service as a whole the change came, I am inclined to think, in an unfortunate way. The Provincial Government could by the issue of

## *Administration in India*

appropriate instructions have done a great deal to ease the position. I have no wish to be critical; but, looking back, I think that the powers that be had their attention too closely riveted to the political aspects of the change and gave too little thought to its purely administrative aspects. Indeed, one can hardly blame them with India buzzing from end to end. Anyhow it was a difficult time for our friends of the Indian Civil Service and you may be expecting me to tell you that their position has been made infinitely more difficult by the recent changes, under which the process begun in 1921 has been extended to the whole field of provincial administration. I am going to say nothing of the kind! Indeed, rightly or wrongly, I am going to tell you the exact opposite, for I believe that the collective responsibility which Ministers now have over the whole range of Provincial Government—and note that it becomes for the first time a collective responsibility—is going to strengthen the position of the District Officer as the chief agent of government as such in his district. Even before the change the realisation was beginning to dawn that something irreplaceable in the shape of local leadership was in danger of being lost. Contact between the District Officer and the local representatives of the other departments became closer and consultations more frequent. The rural development drive that started a few years ago helped greatly in that direction. District Officers had money placed at their disposal which they could distribute at their discretion for such purposes as experimental plots, distribution of improved seeds, local water supply schemes, anti-malaria measures and small drainage and jungle clearance schemes. That gave them a call on the services of the technical officers of the departments concerned, and encouraged the District Officer to regard himself as the Convener of a sort of District Council for Social Welfare and Economic Betterment.

That was all to the good. The pity is that a solution along these lines was not sought earlier. Now, with, as I have said, the principle of collective responsibility established, or on the way to becoming established, at the centre, the Government is in need both of a balanced and coherent policy and of agents to put it across in the districts. Communications are still slow and difficult. No Minister can visit many districts in the course of a year and the District Officer may well be the only person available to expound Government policy as a whole and work up enthusiasm for it. This might appear to invest him with a political function foreign to the character of a permanent Civil Servant, but I think that that criticism can be met by drawing a distinction between Government policy settled and accepted by the legislature and policy which is still in the making. There is another aspect of the general problem of administration

## *Public Administration*

in India to which I personally attach the greatest importance, and which it seems to me may be decisive in settling the future rôle of the I.C.S. Few people in this country realise, I think, how scanty are the resources available in an Indian Province to support a structure of Government conceived on modern lines. Take the Province I know best, Bengal. It has a population of fifty millions and an area of 77,000 square miles, nearly half as large again as England and Wales. The total revenue of the Government of Bengal when I went there was under £7,000,000 a year. It is now about £9,000,000 and the combined revenue of all the local authorities does not represent, on a liberal estimate, more than another £2,000,000. All the public services, police, judiciary, public health, education, have to be maintained out of this meagre total. The officers available for manning the services—as distinct from rank and file—are not cheap even according to our standards. It is true that a High Court Judge costs only £3,600 a year, but on the other hand the equivalent of £200 a year would not be considered excessive for a clerical officer with supervisory functions and certain classes of clerical workers, for example, competent shorthand-typists are definitely more expensive than they are here. I need hardly go on to say that the rates of pay of the rank and file are of necessity deplorably low. There are thousands of elementary school teachers getting no more than 12 rupees a month or about £10 10s. od. a year and many qualified doctors who are matriculates and have done a four-years course in a medical school that have to be content with an initial pay of only about twice that amount. I mention these sordid details only to give you a clear picture of the actual conditions. This is a country, mark you, which aspires to maintain a full-blown democracy with over 300 elected members in the Legislature all as ardent in pressing for much-desired and greatly-needed developments as our Members of Parliament at home. The education problem alone is of overwhelming magnitude. Democracy necessitates a broad franchise which cannot be defended if the bulk of the population is to remain, as it is now, wholly illiterate. Ministers in Bengal are, indeed, committed to establishing within a few years a universal system of free and compulsory primary education. Once educate the people even up to a modest standard and the demand for an effective attack on the endemic diseases which ravage the country, notably malaria, kalaazar, leprosy and tuberculosis, will be irresistible. It looks like a magnificent example of a vicious circle, and when people stop talking politics and begin to face realities—and that will happen before long unless I am greatly mistaken—Ministers will have to be prepared with a remedy or the system will break. What is to be done? Increase taxation? On present standards I reckon than not more than 2½ or 3 millions at the outside could

## *Administration in India*

be raised by tapping every possible source. Even that modest amount, which would barely suffice to finance a complete scheme of primary education, would require a prodigious effort. The cash simply is not there. But there is another method which I believe is perfectly feasible. The people are poor but the country is potentially rich and has vast reserves, notably in man power, which are not measurable in terms of money. The problem as I see it is to mobilise those reserves. Experience has shown that the man power which at present runs to waste can be directed under suitable leadership into a dozen useful channels to increase the productivity of the soil, promote physical culture, improve communications and provide the people and especially the young people with a healthy environment. An increase in the money income of the peasantry and in the yield of taxation will follow automatically and the whole economy of the country will be raised to a higher level. All that is required is the right kind of leadership and a sustained effort. The leaders must be picked men whose motives are above suspicion. I know of no other agency to which the Government can look than the Indian Civil Service if Ministers decide to pursue the policy I have indicated. The thing has been tried over and over again on a small scale and has proved completely successful, but in the past it has always been dependent on the inspiration and initiative of individuals here and there and the results have not survived their translation in the normal course to other spheres. It is entirely within the power of Provincial Governments to give such a movement continuity and permanence. That is the real meaning of rural development in India, and it is a matter not of politics but of administration. Had my service in the East been prolonged that is the subject to which I would have devoted all my energies. Service in India may be less attractive to-day to men of certain types than their predecessors found it a generation or two ago, but I absolutely refuse to admit that the sphere of usefulness which such service opens out has been in any way restricted by recent political changes.

If I am right, this means that India's future depends not on the issue of a conflict of rival political theories but on the successful solution of problems of administration. Good administration will support even an insecure political structure, but good administration is not possible unless the best available talent is brought to bear in the working out of plans and unless public servants who have imagination, faith and resolution are available to put the plans into effect. I am not unhopeful that these prerequisites may be secured. If I were a politician I would add that they can only be secured through the continuance of an effective partnership between the British and the Indian. Each has a vital contribution to make.

# The Problem of Government in the United States

An Address by SIR H. N. BUNBURY, K.C.B.

I AM afraid that the title which I chose for this talk may seem a little misleading, because it implies that there is only one problem of government in America, and that would be rather an absurd proposition. Of course in America, as in every other country, the current problems of government in these dynamic and changing times are many, varied and complex; what I had in mind in choosing it was to try to present—necessarily in rather crude outline—the sort of picture that I saw, or thought I saw, in the field of government in the United States during two visits, each of which lasted six or eight weeks, and in which I had rather exceptional opportunities not only to perceive from outside, but to understand from inside, what was going on.

To go to the United States in this sort of way is an exceedingly stimulating experience, and one is tempted to pause for a moment and see why it is so stimulating. In the first place, in the United States there is, or was until very recently indeed, no fear of war. Problems could be faced on their merits without regard to international relations, to national defence or to any fear of international complications. That gives a notable freedom to the American approach to its internal problems, a freedom which some of you will remember existed in this country in the years before 1914, but which does not exist now. In the second place, American attitudes and approaches and methods contain a very high degree of that quality known to them as "pep." There is nothing gentle, hesitating or cautious about the American approach to a problem in which they are interested. It



## *Problem of Government in the United States*

is a disadvantage as well as an advantage, but from the point of view of the interest of the spectator it is entirely an advantage. Here we tend to compromise over our issues, to blur their outline; perhaps not to say everything that we think about them. The American on the contrary says, if anything, more than he thinks, or more than he would say if he stopped to think. In controversy you line up quickly and draw your gun before the other fellow draws his. All that is very interesting to the spectator. And then, thirdly, Americans give one the impression of being afraid of nothing. They have the approach of the engineer, who regards difficulties not as insuperable obstacles but as things to be got over. Whether this is due to the scale of operations—it may be a psychological reflection of the magnitude of the American lay-out in itself—or whether it is something else in the blood, I do not know, but it is very striking to the observer to see the way in which they “act big”; not necessarily right, but always big.

Now in the remarks I am going to submit to you I shall inevitably have a good deal to say that might be regarded as political rather than administrative. It may seem inappropriate to the present occasion; but you cannot in America—and possibly in other countries, too—nowadays draw a hard line between politics and administration. Much of politics turns on administration, and much of administration is strictly of political character. I need only refer to the controversy going on at the moment with regard to a Ministry of Supply to illustrate that point. The only other thing I want to say—if there should be any Americans in this audience let me protect myself by saying it—that I speak only as a foreign observer giving his idea of the situation as he saw it. Others may put other interpretations upon it. My interpretation has been made, however, after a good deal of discussion with Americans who had different points of view on the many issues which arise.

Now first it may be useful if I try to give you a picture of the economic background of the central problem of American government; and it is perhaps the more important to give it because I do not think it is particularly well understood over here. Let me put it in this way. The civilisation of the United States is in one of those major phases of transition which come from time to time to all civilisations; it is in the phase of transition from a rapidly expanding economy to a more stabilised economy. It is in transition from an economy which was largely predatory, that is, was using up or destroying its great natural resources, to an economy which aims, and is indeed compelled, to use them on a self-sustaining basis. One example out of many to make that point clear. In all the forestry countries of Europe that I know it is, broadly speaking, illegal to

## *Public Administration*

cut down a forest tree unless you plant another one. That is not the law in America, and if you leave out what is known as pulp wood, it is estimated by expert authority that the forest resources of America will be exhausted within twenty years; they are not being replaced, or were not until very recently. That is the difference. I would like to give you a description by an American official body of how the position appears to them, because it puts it in very cogent—possibly slightly exaggerated—but cogent words:—

“The fact is that most of the territory occupied by the United States is not naturally suited for a permanent civilisation. It is like the land of the Mayas of Yucatan or the land of Babylon—a rich country where civilisation can flash into a blaze of glory and then collapse in a few generations into ruin. Our soil is not enriched by the usual methods of cultivation, but impoverished. By the normal methods of our farming, our mining, and our lumbering we create a desert. Americans need to realise that all other national hopes and aspirations are secondary to the question whether we can continue to eat. Without a fertile soil and self-renewing forests, the splendour of our bankrupt cities will become a ghastly joke.” That seems to be putting it a little high, but it is the sort of thing that thinking Americans are saying. The United States is, then, going through this phase of major transition. Let us see how that has happened. American civilisation was built up through immigration, borrowed capital, and rapid development. I think that, over a long period, the increase in population was of the order of 10 to 12 per cent. per annum. They were spreading over a naturally rich continent rapidly and without restriction. Everything was expanding. They could—again speaking broadly because there were periods when it was difficult—but speaking broadly they could borrow from the lending countries of Europe all the capital they wanted. That is why, for example, they had no Poor Law. They did not need one. If anything went wrong with you personally, if you got caught in some catastrophe or other, you could always go to some other city which was expanding, or take up new land and make a fresh start. There was always somewhere else to go. After the Great War the scene changed. Immigration was greatly reduced. All the unoccupied land had been distributed, and the process was in fact beginning to be reversed, and land was beginning to go out of cultivation. America, previously a borrowing and on balance a debtor nation, had become a creditor nation, but had not yet realised what the obligations, in their own interest, of a creditor nation were. They had not adapted their policy to their international economic position. And so there came this great change from extensive to intensive internal development. There was another important movement going on which I



## *Problem of Government in the United States*

should mention here; the shifting of industries, and particularly the cotton industry, from the older industrial States of New England to the South, in search of cheap labour. This has given the United States its depressed areas, and has also intensified the old problem of chronic poverty in the Southern States; I think that this was probably the result of a complex of causes. One must have been the great reduction in cheap immigrant labour; and we must bear in mind that for practical purposes they had no labour legislation or trade unions to support or improve any particular wage structure or wage level. Probably there were other causes at work, too, which promoted that great shift in industry. There was a growing difficulty in selling abroad the cotton which was grown in the Southern States, this ultimately being a reflection of an unsuitable fiscal policy. Thirdly, of course, there was the fact that through the cessation of immigration the coloured population was increasing much more rapidly than the white population.

All these and other causes produced a fundamentally unbalanced situation, disguised by an inflationary boom, which was bound to create a severe crisis when the match was applied to the train. The things that happened, largely in Europe but also in the United States, between 1929 and 1933 applied that match. The result was that in 1933, just before President Roosevelt was elected for his first term, American civilisation was very nearly in a state of collapse, and to many Americans revolution rather than recovery seemed just round the corner. Let me give you in President Roosevelt's own words that picture as he saw it, or rather one aspect of the picture (because the external aspect must be very well known to you), of the crisis of 1933:—

He says, "Equally important, however, but not so well remembered now, was the crisis in the spirit and morale of our people. Four years of continuing fear of losing capital, of losing savings, of losing jobs, had developed under the deadening hand of the depression into fear of eviction from houses and farms, and fear of actual starvation. Millions of people, gripped by this greater fear, had begun to feel that the machinery of modern American government had broken down so completely under the strain of the new demands placed upon it by modern civilisation that an entirely new type of mechanics for existence would have to be invented. They were not clear in their own minds as to what type they should seek; but their confidence and morale were so shaken that many of them would have been willing to accept any form of specious glittering guarantee of a chance to earn a livelihood. This attitude of hopelessness was aggravated by the recognised failure of the Federal Govern-

## *Public Administration*

ment to assume any practical leadership, to hold out any prospect of immediate help for the present, or any hope for a more secure future." Well, those things give you the economic background of the American situation round about 1933. A major phase of transition from an expansionist to a more self-sustaining and stable system, and a very acute economic crisis.

I pass now to the political background, which is very apparent to any observer of the American scene. Politics also, as you would expect, seem to be in a state of transition. In the first place, far more than in this country, politics had become a matter of institutions rather than ideas. The political conflict is primarily a conflict between two organisations, the Republican organisation and the Democratic organisation. Each of these two great parties, the Republican and the Democratic, has its right and left wings, its Conservative and Radical wings. What is happening now seems to be a new political cleavage. The line is shaping itself not so much between the Republican tradition, which, broadly speaking, represents the North-East and the Middle West, industry, high protection and everything you associate with those ideas, and the Democratic tradition, which represents the South, the Planter, and the less privileged, but also the less progressive elements, economically and socially, in American society. The true cleavage is tending to lie between what we call over here the Right and the Left. The cleavage is between a Conservatism based primarily on vested interests and great wealth and a Radicalism which is comparable to the thought of the British Radicals of the middle nineteenth century, but with some affinities—because times have changed—with the more étatist ideas characteristic of the Left Wing of the Liberal Party between 1906 and 1912. That is how the cleavage is slowly developing; but because it cuts across the lines of political organisation the position is tense and unstable. It shows itself in this way, that the nucleus of the Democratic Party is highly conservative, while the Republican Party has developed a progressive wing not unlike the Tory Democrats who trace back ultimately to Disraeli. That, then, is the main feature of the political background, but there are one or two phenomena or symptoms which are worth particular mention. The first is the astonishing animosity of political conflict in the United States when political conflict runs high. I can remember the animosity shown towards Lloyd George when he was addressing his mind to social insurance and the land—the period of stamp-licking, of pheasants and mangold-wurzels. But it was nothing compared with the animosity shown in the United States towards the President in those quarters which are opposed to him. They do not stop to think. Conversation with an anti-New Dealer is an

## *Problem of Government in the United States*

emotional, not a rational, process. You meet it particularly in New York. Then in addition to the intense animosity there is also a marked tendency to personalise issues. Conflicts are presented in terms of personalities, which I do not think make for enlightenment. Then, thirdly, there is the condition of the American Press. Much like our own—I mean in its ownership—it is to a very large extent owned by a comparatively few financial interests, often possessing other and larger interests in enterprise and so forth, or allied to such interests. From that point of view the American Press as a whole is very far from free. The independent Press, by which I mean the Press whose attitude is governed solely by the opinions and judgment of its management without regard to any other interests, is, on the whole, weak. It is commonly said that when President Roosevelt was re-elected in 1936 by the biggest majority that any American President had ever had he had 75 per cent. of the Press against him. That figure depends a little on what the basis of measurement is, and it may be it is a little exaggerated; but not very much. Such then is the political background before which an American President and his Administration have been making for the past six years an attempt to adapt the American system of government to the new phase of American civilisation as I have tried to describe it.

Let me now try to give you the policy of the New Deal as the President and his associates have seen it and worked at it. It contains, he says, two main elements. The first, a return to democracy, and the second, social justice. Now that phrase "Return to Democracy" is at first sight a little mystifying. What he means is this: that the traditional democratic basis of American government had in the last decade or two gradually shifted. Its place had been taken by, in effect, a plutocratic oligarchy. Political power had, if you trace the thing back far enough or deep enough, become concentrated in the hands of a comparatively small number of very wealthy interests. He would not, perhaps, say that they meet together and conspire to work out a policy, but that is the effect of what has happened. Hence the fight that has been continuously going on, and was going on long before President Roosevelt, between the Administration in Washington on the one hand and the great corporations on the other. These great corporations are very unpopular, but very powerful politically. What President Roosevelt means by "return to democracy" is that he wants to curb the political power of these great and wealthy institutions, who in the last resort are controlled by a very small group.

The second leading element in his policy is social justice. He has defined it under six heads. First, for industrial workers, fair wages and decent hours, and to the farmer a decent living; secondly, safety

## *Public Administration*

for the savings of the people; in other words, curbing the abuses—the very obvious abuses—associated with finance houses, stock markets and commodity exchanges, which serve the American passion for speculation; thirdly, the care of public health, housing and recreation; fourthly, protection for business enterprise against monopolies and unfair competition, with protection for the consumer. That particular item is a phenomenon which we may observe to-day in a good many countries, which are attempting to protect the little man, the small trader, by governmental action. Fifthly, planning the use of the national resources of the United States; and lastly, social security in old age and against unemployment, crime and war. Of course this list does not include the temporary crisis measures by which federal finance and public works have been used freely as a means of relieving unemployment. Those are regarded essentially as crisis measures: what I am referring to is the permanent long-range policy. Now I must not stay, and if there were time it would not be appropriate, to go into the details of that programme, but I have given you the heads because they show clearly what a large extension is involved in the field of Government activity in American life as it was previously conceived. They involve an immense interference with activities which previously had been regarded as lawful, even desirable, to whatever length they were carried, and in whatever way they were carried out. They bring you therefore to the problem of government proper, the new job which the American governmental machine will have to carry out if this long-range policy is adhered to. It is significant, and I think quite logical, that before the New Deal had progressed very far the Administration was addressing its attention very seriously indeed to the problem of the efficiency of administrative machinery. It soon became evident that the machinery which existed—the machinery which alone could be created within existing traditions and under existing practice—would not be capable of carrying out a programme of this sort efficiently. That is what seems to me the problem of government in America.

Behind it there lies another problem which I would like to mention but must not discuss; the problem which Felix Frankfurter has described as the major problem before America at the present time—that of “the interplay of business and government,” of establishing a sound workable relation between free enterprise on the one hand and authority, acting on behalf of the community as a whole, on the other. That problem I think is very far from solved in America, and probably unsolved everywhere else, except perhaps in Russia where you solve it by the expedient of getting rid of the business term of the equation.

## *Problem of Government in the United States*

Now to come back to governmental machinery; in 1936 or thereabouts the President appointed a Committee consisting of three people who are known to many of us here—Mr. Louis Brownlow, Dr. Charles Merriam, and Mr. Luther Gulick, to consider the machinery of government in Washington and to make recommendations, and they produced a report known as The Report of the "Committee on Administrative Management," which I personally found a very impressive document. It has all the merits of American thought on this sort of problem; it goes boldly at it. It has no inhibitions: it draws its picture in broad outline, and as far as I can judge it thinks very straight. I will try to give you the substance of the recommendations of this Committee in a sentence or two. You have to bear in mind that the President of the United States, under the doctrine of separation of powers, is what is often called a "strong executive"; that is to say, within the defined sphere of his executive duties he is an autocrat. The only limitation on his power, within the definition of what is executive, is the fact that Congress has to be persuaded to vote any money he may need to carry out his policy. That is a strong and in some matters a decisive control over the Executive; but he has not, as you have under the Parliamentary system, to defend before Parliament at any time anything he may do. On the contrary, he has rather to keep away from Congress. He approaches Congress formally by way of messages, though he has of course other less formal ways of influencing the actions of Congress. Now, the Committee said, the President with his enormous responsibility has not got, and has never had, the instrumentalities at his disposal for doing that job efficiently. They recommended that he should have what we should describe—or would be described on the Continent—as a small Ministerial "Cabinet" of highly expert personal assistants. The nearest analogy to it in this country is the Cabinet Secretariat. The Cabinet Secretariat, which has nothing to do with the formation of policy, nevertheless provides the machinery for the policy to be formed and for the various decisions to be carried out. It is of vital importance to the Head of a modern State with his enormous and varied responsibilities. Secondly, they said, there are three other agencies which the Head of the Executive Government should have directly responsible to himself. They are the Fiscal or Budget Agency, the Personnel Agency, and the third—which is a novelty to many of us—a Planning Agency. It is as though—using a very rough analogy—the Treasury on the financial side, the Establishment Branch of the Treasury with the Civil Service Commission, and a third agency which does not exist in this country—a Planning Agency—should be associated directly with the Prime Minister. They say: resigned to "substitute the results of careful scientific study for

## *Public Administration*

uninformed judgment and political expediency as the basis for the formulation of governmental plans." If the Chief Executive has got those three agencies at his disposal he can control the whole executive work of Government. If he has not got those agencies, then he is likely to lose control.

The next recommendation of the Committee was that the Civil Service Commission should be made a one-man office instead of a three-party Commission. I will not trouble you with the reason for that recommendation, because it is special to American conditions, and is of no particular interest apart from those conditions. Associated with this are an extension of the "merit" or Civil Service system, and an improvement in the salaries of the highest positions. Then they made some interesting recommendations about accountability and audit. They are a correction of a mistake made in 1921, due, I think, to a misunderstanding of the British system under which the Comptroller-General of the Exchequer and the Auditor-General are the same person. They had introduced a control of expenditure by an independent official, the Comptroller-General, who was outside the executive system, that is to say, they put him in the same position as our Auditor-General—put him in the position of a judge—and at the same time gave him a prior veto over the whole of the expenditure. The result was a great amount of friction in the execution of policies. He was also Auditor-General, and in that capacity of course he had to audit, after expenditure, what he had previously authorised, with the inevitable result that he did very little audit, and the idea that he should report to Congress on the results of his audit was practically not carried out. The system in fact has broken down, and the proposal in the Report of the Committee on Administrative Management is that the function of pre-control of expenditure should be transferred to the Treasury Department, and the function of audit should continue to be vested in an independent officer who should have no executive responsibilities whatever. That looks like plain common sense.

Lastly, the Committee recommended a general reorganisation and consolidation of the welter of departments, bureaux, corporations and other agencies of which the machinery of government at Washington is at present composed, including the creation of new departments of Social Welfare and of Public Works. The general idea was to bring all these agencies (except those which exercise judicial functions), under closer executive control.

These are the main features in the Report of this Committee. Let me just tell you what happened. A Bill, known as the Re-organisation Bill, to carry out these recommendations, with some modifications and omissions, was before Congress this spring. After long and agitated discussions, it was eventually defeated by a



## *Problem of Government in the United States*

small majority. I was in the United States while this was going on, and I found the public agitation that was worked up over this apparently sensible Bill quite incredible. The papers contained articles proving that it was the end of American liberty. Roosevelt, if he got this Bill, would make himself a Dictator. They got Father Coghlan on the air to denounce the Bill. Large funds were obtained from somewhere or other to hold meetings, to use the radio, and to send tens of thousands of telegrams to members of Congress opposing the Bill. It was a first-class show. The story goes that one of the leading opponents, asked why he fought a Bill to carry out a policy that he had long advocated, replied, "It is a Bill we have been wanting for the last fifty years; but we want to teach the President a lesson." The opposition was accompanied by much misrepresentation and misunderstanding. Unfortunately the subject was sufficiently technical to enable the public to be misled, and public opposition to be worked up. So this problem—the problem of making the central core of administration efficient, is still unsolved for the time being.

I hope that the picture I have given you may not be without some interest. I would like in concluding to come back to the point with which I started. Here, in America, you have a great country with a democratic tradition, perhaps not entirely clear in its own mind as to what is meant by "democratic," but with a strong democratic tradition, facing a period of major and accelerated change, which it cannot escape, without the restraints and impediments of fear. What the end will be no one can tell; but I would say to those who are interested in political institutions and in administrative machinery, that if you want straight and lucid thinking, search the enormous mass of American thinking on these subjects at the present time. It is always interesting, and sometimes goes very deep indeed.

# The Origin and Growth of the Government Departments Concerned with Scottish Affairs

## A GENERAL REVIEW

By SIR JOHN JEFFREY, K.C.B., C.B.E.

[*Lecture to the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Regional Group of the Institute of Public Administration*]

THE subject upon which you have asked me to address you presents such a wide field for review that it seems necessary at the outset of my remarks that I should define how I propose to deal with it. I have assumed it to be your wish that the expression "Scottish Affairs" should be interpreted as meaning those affairs which are the subject of separate administration for Scotland; and, on that assumption, I do not propose to include in my review such Departments as the Post Office, the Board of Trade, the Inland Revenue Department, the Customs and Excise Department, and the Ministry of Transport, who deal with matters affecting Scotland, but only in the exercise of a jurisdiction which extends equally over the whole of the United Kingdom; I also propose to exclude the Departments concerned with the administration of law and justice on the ground that, although special to Scotland, they are State Departments and not Departments of the Executive Government. Apart from a short description of some of the old Scottish Departments still in existence, my review will be mainly confined to the Office of the Secretary of State for Scotland and the principal Scottish Departments for whom he is the Minister responsible to Parliament.

### I. LYON KING OF ARMS

The oldest Scottish Department is perhaps that of the Lyon King of Arms. The origin of the office is shrouded in the mists of antiquity.



## *Origin and Growth of Government Depts.*

He was probably the High Sennachie who, as guardian and preserver of the Royal pedigree and family records, functioned at the coronation of the Celto-Pictish kings, by declaiming at each coronation the King's genealogy back to the founder of the Royal line.

A Lord Lyon King of Arms was inaugurated in 1318 and there is a complete list of the holders of the office since 1452. Under the Lyon King are three Heralds and three Pursuivants who are described as "the Sovereign's most solemn messengers."

In the Lyon has been vested for centuries the whole of the Crown's jurisdiction in armorial matters. No grant of arms is effective except when made by him and matriculated in his registers.

He has had jurisdiction over the service of messenger-at-arms throughout Scotland since 1587.

He is entrusted with the duty of making Royal Proclamations and he regulates all State, Royal and public ceremonial in Scotland.

In matters of heraldry and genealogy he occupies the position of a judge and has his own Court—the Lyon Court which exercises both civil and penal jurisdiction. In this respect, Scotland occupies the unique position of being probably the only country in which a court of heraldry and genealogy still exists before which lawyers plead in wig and gown; and it may interest you to know that Scottish heraldry is regarded as being the purest in Europe. The penalties which may be imposed by the Lyon Court in cases of improper use of arms are fine, imprisonment, and confiscation of movable goods.

The "rights, duties, powers, privileges and dignities" of the Lyon King were confirmed by an Act of 1867.

### 2. GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE.

Another of our old Scottish Departments is the General Register Office which performs two functions. First, it is the repository for all State and public documents affecting Scotland and, secondly, it is the office in which various registers are maintained, the most important of these being the Register of Sasines.

From very early times, certainly as far back as 1282, the records of Scotland have been under the custody of a high officer of State, successively known as King's Clerk or Clerk of the King's Chapel or Chancery, Clerk Register, and later, Lord Clerk Register. In 1879 the duties of the Lord Clerk Register, as Keeper of the public registers and records, were transferred to a Deputy Clerk Register, and from that date the office of Lord Clerk Register has been almost entirely a titular office—his only duty being in connexion with the election of Scottish representative peers. He was also continued as Keeper of the Signet.

## *Public Administration*

The post of Deputy Clerk Register was abolished by the Reorganization of Offices Act, 1928, which transferred his duties to a new officer, entitled the "Keeper of Registers and Records of Scotland." Provision was also made by the same Act for transferring to the Keeper the duties of the Director of Chancery—an office created as far back as 1440.

Time will not permit me to give you even a brief account of the vicissitudes, misfortunes, and disasters which have attended the old Scottish records. Suffice it to say that last year the Public Records (Scotland) Act made comprehensive provision for enabling Scottish records of all kinds to be preserved in the General Register Office and it restored to Scotland a number of records which had been removed to London by Edward I.

The origin of the Register of Sasines is to be found in various unsuccessful attempts, made in the sixteenth century, to give complete security against the fraudulent concealment of encumbrances on land, the outcome being that Parliament, by an Act of 1617, instituted a public register of sasines and reversions or titles to lands and encumbrances thereon, under the control of the Lord Clerk Register. The system of land registration as organised by successive statutes has been carried on practically without a break since 1617 and consequently Scotland has been placed in the fortunate position of having a complete record of title in respect of all lands and heritages in the country.

### 3. BOARD OF TRUSTEES FOR THE NATIONAL GALLERIES OF SCOTLAND

This body, originally called the Board of Trustees for the Improvement of Fisheries and Manufactures, was set up in 1727 to administer an annual grant of £2,000 provided for by the Treaty of Union. Very soon art, in the industrial application, became the main concern of the Board, and Fisheries disappeared from its ken in 1809 when the first rudiments of a Fishery Board emerged. To complete this particular story, the Board of Trustees was reconstituted under the National Galleries Act of 1906.

### 4. EXCHEQUER OFFICE

Although the Exchequer Office is a branch of the Treasury I feel that it should be included in my review inasmuch as its head—the King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer—still exercises certain functions concerned with Scottish affairs. The origin of his office is as follows:—

By an Article of the Treaty of Union provision was made for the continuance in Scotland of a Court of Exchequer with the same power and authority regarding Scottish revenues of customs

## Origin and Growth of Government Depts.

and excise as the Court of Exchequer had in England, and for a considerable time these revenues continued to be collected and, for certain purposes, administered by the Court. This administrative control, however, was gradually diminished as considerations of economy or expediency suggested and what remained of it was transferred to the Treasury by an Act of 1833. The judicial functions of the Court were transferred to the Court of Session in 1856.

The Act of Queen Anne (1707), constituting the Court of Exchequer on the English model, created various executive officers of the Court including a Queen's Remembrancer and a Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer. These two officers were continued by the Act of 1833 and the Treasury were empowered to regulate their duties. They were united by the Treasury in 1836 under the title of "The King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer."

The King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer acts as the Paymaster-General for the purely Scottish Departments, that is to say, all payable orders or cheques issued by these Departments are presented for payment at his office. He is the Keeper of the *Edinburgh Gazette*; he audits the accounts of sheriff-clerks and procurators-fiscal; and he acts as the representative of the Crown as *ultimus heres*. Under an appointment from the Board of Trade he is the Registrar of Companies in Scotland and the Registrar of Limited Partnerships and Business Names.

### 5. SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND

It seems strange that the Act of Union did not make any provision for a Scottish Minister to look after Scottish Affairs, considering, first, the care with which it safeguarded Scotland's legal system, and, secondly, the fact that an Office of King's Secretary in Scotland had existed certainly as long ago as the reign of David II (1329-71), and was at the time of the Union one of the Great Offices of State entitling its holder to a seat, *ex officio*, in Parliament. Indeed, its importance was such that in 1696 the post had been duplicated—that is, there were joint holders with concurrent powers—the constitutional theory being, as in England, and as it still is to-day, that there is only one Office of Secretary of State and that it is a matter of arrangement how the joint holders of the Office divide up the work.

Possibly at the time of the Union it was not supposed that this important Scottish personage could ever disappear. From 1707 to 1725 four distinguished noblemen were appointed successively as Secretaries of State with charge of Scottish affairs. On the resignation of the Duke of Roxburghe in 1725, however, following the Malt Tax Riots, a successor was not appointed. Joint responsibility for

## *Public Administration*

Scotland was vested in the two English Secretaries of State (Northern and Southern Department), Scottish business passing through the Southern Department, but the real control was in the hands of the Duke of Argyll and his brother, Lord Ilay (Lord Justice-General), and of the Lord Advocate, Duncan Forbes of Culloden.

On the fall of Walpole, Lord Tweeddale was appointed as a Secretary of State for Scotland. He was an active and able administrator, but a Cabinet intrigue in 1746 brought about his resignation, and it was no doubt partly the events of the '45 which determined the Government's decision not to fill the vacancy.

In 1782 the Secretary of State system was altered, and for the first time the Secretary of State for Home Affairs appears on the stage. Scottish affairs came under his jurisdiction, but about the same time Henry Dundas, then Keeper of the Signet, began to establish himself as unofficial Minister for Scotland, and during his subsequent tenure of numerous high posts (including that of Home Secretary) was in effect Controller-General of Scotland until his impeachment as Lord Melville in 1805. Indeed, that was not the end of his influence, for he was again a Privy Councillor after his acquittal in 1807, and held the Office of Lord Privy Seal until his death in 1811. His son succeeded him in that post and exercised considerable control over Scottish affairs until 1827.

With the disappearance of the Dundases, some disputation arose as to how Scottish business should be conducted. Eventually, the Lord Advocate emerged as the responsible adviser on Scottish affairs—an arrangement which continued for nearly half a century but did not satisfy Scottish opinion. Public feeling against it continued to increase in intensity and became more widespread as the years passed until, in response to popular demand, Parliament, after one or two abortive attempts, passed the Secretary for Scotland Act, 1885, creating a separate Minister responsible for the administration of Scottish affairs.

To the Secretary for Scotland, thus created, were transferred the many powers and duties relating to Scotland which had been vested in the Home Secretary and also certain powers and duties of the Privy Council, the Treasury and the Local Government Board for England. In 1926 the Secretaries of State Act abolished the office of Secretary for Scotland and transferred his powers and duties to a Principal Secretary of State. Using popular language, he became the Secretary of State for Scotland.

The responsibilities of the Scottish Secretary covered a wide and varied range of subjects and these have been enormously extended by legislation within recent years. In 1919 Parliament recognised the heavy burden resting on his shoulders by creating a

## Origin and Growth of Government Depts.

Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Health. This officer was converted into a General Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State in 1926.

I have recounted the history of the Secretary of State at some length because it helps to explain the rather peculiar system of departmental administration which grew up in Scotland (the effects of which are still with us) and to which I must now refer. Even in the nineteenth century there was Governmental work to be done outside the sphere of law and justice, factory legislation and patronage appointments—work right off the track of the most ardent Home Secretary or Lord Advocate. How was it done? The answer is by Administrative Boards enjoying, subject to good behaviour, and to some control of expenditure and staff, a large measure of autonomy and discretion.

### 6. FISHERY BOARD FOR SCOTLAND

The earliest of these Boards is the Fishery Board which, as I have already mentioned, had its embryonic beginnings in the Board of Trustees for the Improvement of Fisheries and Manufactures. First constituted as a separate body in 1809, and then called the Commissioners for the British White Herring Industry, it was specially charged with the duty of "over-seeing, directing and better improving the white herring fishing" and of administering the well-known bounty system for the production of cured herring. The Commissioners originally had jurisdiction over the whole of Great Britain and the Isle of Man, but their officers were withdrawn from England and Wales in 1849 and from the Isle of Man in 1869, their functions being then confined to Scotland.

In 1882, the Commissioners were replaced by the Fishery Board for Scotland, responsible to the Home Secretary. The Board's field of responsibility was also widened. It was given the duty of taking cognizance of everything relating to the coast and deep-sea fisheries of Scotland and of exercising a general supervision over salmon fisheries.

The Board was reconstituted in 1895 and now consists of a paid chairman (an established civil servant) and six honorary members, *viz.*, the Sheriff of a county (who is the deputy chairman), a person of skill in the branches of science concerned with the habits of food and fishes, and four members representative of the various sea-fishing interests of Scotland.

The Board is required by statute to comply with the instructions of the Secretary of State, but this provision does not over-ride the final discretion given to the Board by various statutes, *e.g.*, the power to make by-laws affecting fishing or the power to make regulations regarding the Crown brand for cured herrings.

## *Public Administration*

### 7. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

The Department of Health, the largest of the Scottish Departments both in respect of the number of staff employed and the wide range of its administrative work, is also the Department which has undergone the greatest changes in the course of its historical development. It started in 1845 as the Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor; and as this was the first of the Departments concerned with local government administration in Scotland it may be convenient to pause for a moment to glance at the circumstances which led to the establishment of that Board.

The report of the Poor Law Inquiry Commission of 1843, which investigated the working of the Scottish Poor Laws, had disclosed a very unsatisfactory state of affairs, due not so much to defects in the poor laws themselves as to the fact that they were either administered in a very insufficient manner, or, in many areas, were not being administered at all and had become a dead letter. The Commissioners therefore recommended the creation of a central supervisory authority to see that the laws would in future be observed. Hence the establishment of the Board of Supervision. It consisted of nine members including a whole-time paid chairman, three Sheriffs of counties, the Solicitor-General, the Lord Provosts of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and two other members. It was a body fairly representative of the different districts of the country. But while it was "an organ of the State, a delegate of the executive," it was not directly responsible to Parliament.

As time passed, its jurisdiction was extended to many other matters besides poor relief, notably by the passing of the Public Health Act, 1867, which made the Board the central public health authority for Scotland, and materially increased its powers. No change, however, was made either in its membership or in its relationship to Parliament. Even its statutory title—the Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor—remained unaltered. The Board thus continued to function until 1894 when it was replaced by the Local Government Board for Scotland—a body consisting of six members, *viz.*, the Secretary for Scotland (who was President), the Solicitor-General for Scotland, the Under-Secretary for Scotland, and three paid members, one of whom was Vice-President of the Board and acted as chairman in the absence of the President. The alteration in the constitution of the Board automatically secured the principle of direct responsibility to Parliament, and thus passed away the status of semi-independence enjoyed for almost half a century by the central poor law and public health department in Scotland.

In 1919, the Local Government Board was, by an Act of that



## *Origin and Growth of Government Depts.*

year, merged in the Scottish Board of Health, established with the object of concentrating in the hands of a single department the more important responsibilities of central government in matters affecting the health of the people. To the new Board were transferred the whole powers and duties of (1) the Local Government Board for Scotland; (2) the Scottish Insurance Commissioners who had been established in 1912 to administer the National Health Insurance scheme; and (3) the Highlands and Islands (Medical Service) Board, established in 1914, to administer a Government grant for the improvement of the medical services in the Highlands and Islands. There were also transferred to the Board certain powers of the Privy Council and the Lord President of the Council, the Secretary for Scotland, and the Scottish Education Department relating to health. Provision was further made for the transfer to the Board from time to time of certain other powers and duties, *e.g.*, relating to lunacy and mental deficiency, to the health of disabled soldiers, and generally to matters affecting or incidental to the health of the people.

Subsequent to its establishment the powers and duties of the Board of Health were materially increased by the passing of a series of Acts for the improvement of the housing of the working classes, subsidised by Government grants administered by the Board and, again, by the passing of an Act in 1926 which vested in the Board the administration in Scotland of a contributory scheme for widows, orphans, and old-age pensions.

In view of the short period of the Board's existence (nine years) it seems unnecessary to say much about its constitution which, apart from its first personnel, would eventually have been much on the same lines as that of the Local Government Board. The outstanding change was that the Act constituting the Board made provision for the appointment of a Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Health who was to be a member and Vice-President of the Board.

By the Reorganisation of Offices Act, 1928, the Board was abolished and its powers and duties were vested in a Department—the Department of Health for Scotland—"acting under the control and direction" of the Secretary of State, and consisting of a Secretary and other officers appointed by the Secretary of State.

### 8. GENERAL BOARD OF CONTROL

The General Board of Control was first constituted under the Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1857, following upon the report of a Royal Commission set up in 1855 to inquire into the condition of lunacy in Scotland. Its title was the General Board of Commissioners in Lunacy in Scotland and its duties consisted mainly of the supervision

## Public Administration

and regulation of the care of lunatics. In 1913, when mental defectives were also brought within its cognisance, its title was changed to that of the General Board of Control for Scotland and provision was made for the appointment of an additional paid Commissioner. Apart from that, the constitution of the Board is the same as it was in 1857. At present, the Chairman and two other members are unpaid and there are two paid Commissioners who, in fact, have medical qualifications.

### 9. PRISONS DEPARTMENT FOR SCOTLAND

The first beginnings of a Prisons Department are to be found in an Act of 1839 "to improve prisons and prison discipline in Scotland" under which the general superintendence and direction of all prisons were committed to a General Board of Directors of Prisons in Scotland acting under the Home Secretary. At that time prisons were provided and maintained by the Town Councils in burghs and by the Commissioners of Supply in counties. Many improvements were effected by the General Board of Directors and in 1860 after having accomplished, as it was thought, the purpose for which it was appointed, the Board was abolished. Serious defects still remained, however, and the Prison Commissioners for Scotland were established by the Prisons (Scotland) Act, 1877, as a body corporate to assist the Home Secretary in carrying into effect the provisions of that Act by which the administration of prisons in Scotland was transferred from the local authorities to the State and their maintenance provided out of Parliamentary money. The number of Commissioners was limited to three, of whom two might be paid for their services. In addition, the Sheriff of Perthshire and the Crown Agent for Scotland were Commissioners *ex officio*.

Under the Reorganisation of Offices (Scotland) Act, 1928, the Commissioners were replaced by the Prisons Department for Scotland which, like the other Departments established by that Act, is a Department "acting under the control and direction" of the Secretary of State.

### 10. SCOTTISH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

The Scottish Education Department was established by the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, which transferred from the Church to popularly elected school boards the work of organising and administering education throughout Scotland. To quote the preamble of the Act, its object was "to amend and extend the provisions of the law of Scotland on the subject of education in such manner that the means of procuring efficient education for their children may



## *Origin and Growth of Government Depts.*

be furnished and made available to the *whole* people of Scotland." The general oversight and guidance of the administration of education and the distribution of the Parliamentary grants were entrusted to the Scotch Education Department—known since 1918 as the Scottish Education Department.

Strictly speaking, the Department is "the Lords of the Committee for the time being of the Privy Council appointed for education in Scotland." Apart from changes in nomenclature this committee is now as it was in 1872, the ministerial body responsible to Parliament for public education in Scotland. The Education Acts do not confer any powers on the Secretary of State, as such, his powers in connection with education being derived from his position as Vice-President of the Committee of the Privy Council—a position which was secured to him by the Secretary for Scotland Act, 1885. In practice, the committee is a purely nominal body which has not met for about a quarter of a century. The general conduct of its business is left to the Secretary of the Department acting by and under the authority of the Vice-President.

Originally, the Department's activities were mainly confined to primary education, though in this connection it is important to note that the Act of 1872, unlike the corresponding English Act of 1870, contained no such expression as "*elementary* education." Many of the Scottish schools were, at that time, teaching subjects beyond the scope of elementary education, and the Act enjoined the Department to see that the standard of education then existing should not be lowered but should be maintained as far as possible at a high standard. The activities of the Department have been greatly extended in consequence of the progress and developments that have taken place in our educational system since 1872.

### II. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR SCOTLAND

The Department of Agriculture is the youngest of the Scottish Departments. It inherited powers from the Congested Districts Board appointed in 1897. But that Board's authority only extended to the crofting counties and it was not until 1912 that the Department's predecessor, the Board of Agriculture for Scotland, was constituted under the Small Landholders (Scotland) Act, 1911. While the main function of the Board was the encouragement of small holdings it was charged with the general duty of promoting the interests of agriculture, forestry, and other rural industries in Scotland and of promoting, aiding and developing agricultural education and research and agricultural organisation and co-operation. In effect, it became the central agricultural department in Scotland for all important purposes except the Diseases of Animals Acts which were

## Public Administration

regarded as a matter which should be left with the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries to be administered on uniform lines throughout the United Kingdom.

The Board consisted of three paid members and it was laid down in the Act that in the discharge of its duties the Board should comply with the Secretary for Scotland's instructions or regulations. Certain functions of the Board were exercisable, subject to the approval of the Secretary for Scotland, and other again (*e.g.*, the making of an order for compulsory acquisition of land) were vested in the Secretary for Scotland himself.

In 1929 the Board ceased to exist when its functions were transferred to a Department—the Department of Agriculture for Scotland—“acting under the control and direction” of the Secretary of State.

Owing to the continuous development of land-settlement operations since the War, the establishment and growth of research and educational organisations and the intensive agricultural legislation of the past eight years, the work of the Department has grown phenomenally and it is now the second largest of the Scottish Departments.

### 12. REGISTRAR-GENERAL FOR SCOTLAND

The office of Registrar-General for Scotland was established by the Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages (Scotland) Act, 1854, under which the Deputy-Clerk Registrar for the time being was made Registrar-General. This dual office was abolished in 1920 and the Registrar-General is now appointed by the Secretary of State. In certain matters the Registrar-General is subject to control by the Department of Health and in others by the Scottish Office.

I have now given you a brief description of the origin and growth of the various Government Departments under the control of the Secretary of State.

The system has recently been the subject of comprehensive review by a Departmental Committee—the Committee on Scottish Administration, presided over by the Rt. Hon. Sir John Gilmour, M.P., who, incidentally, was the first Secretary of State for Scotland after the revival of that office in 1926. Briefly stated, the most important of the Committee's recommendations are as follows:—

(1) that the separate corporate existence still enjoyed by the Departments of Health, Agriculture, and Prisons should be abolished and their functions vested by legislation in the Secretary of State, this being necessary in order to preserve the constitutional principle that a Department and its Minister are indistinguishable.

(2) that the Scottish Education Department should cease to be a Committee of the Privy Council and that its functions should

## *Origin and Growth of Government Depts.*

be transferred to the Secretary of State as in the case of the other Departments;

(3) that the Fishery Board should be abolished and its functions transferred to the Secretary of State—an Advisory Council representative of trade interests being set up to advise him in matters relating to fisheries administration; and

(4) that the General Board of Control should be continued because of certain quasi-judicial functions which it exercises, but that its constitution should be altered in such a way as to link up functions relating to the treatment of mental illness with those of physical illness and education.

In a word, the outcome of the Committee's recommendations, which have been embodied in a Bill now before Parliament, will be, with one exception, the final disappearance of the last vestiges of the old system of administrative boards and the concentration of the administration in the hands of a single Minister—the Secretary of State—directly responsible to Parliament.

# Road Administration

By SIR LEONARD BROWETT, K.C.B., C.B.E.,  
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THERE are approximately 180,000 miles of public roads in Great Britain. They display every known characteristic of the highway from the narrow country lane, the village street, or the congested city street to the great modern artery with its dual carriageways, cycle tracks, footpaths and verges.

Roads cannot be left to look after themselves, they need constant care and attention in rough proportion to the use made of them. Apart from any question of major improvements, there is the continuous need for keeping the road surface in proper repair, for cleansing, draining, hedging and ditching, and for maintaining roads generally in a fit condition to perform their functions as an essential part of the communication system of the country.

The object of this paper is to outline briefly the framework of road administration and to indicate the developments of the past which have led to the present system.

But let me sound a note of warning. I am fully conscious of the disadvantages and dangers of compression, and I ask those who now hear and those, if any, who later read these words, to remember that I do no more than sketch in very broad and general outline, and that, of necessity, I have left out many important reservations, and have not dealt with many matters of importance which might readily form the subject of separate papers.

Before coming to the present day system of administration, let me project as it were on a screen a few quick pictures of road administration in past centuries.

# Road Administration

## HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

In Pre-Roman days the problem was simple. There were no roads as we understand them, and therefore no road administration.

The four centuries of the Roman Occupation saw great changes. True to the Roman tradition, the Governors embarked on and carried out a great programme of road construction throughout the Province. The line of the great roads was clearly dictated by strategical considerations, and aimed at linking up the various centres from which the Province was governed. We may assume that the administration was based largely on military needs, so that the construction and maintenance of the roads would fall on the Legions.

The rapid political disintegration of the Province after the fall of the Empire was accompanied by the almost equally rapid deterioration of the splendid road legacy left by the Romans. Such attention as was paid in Saxon days to roads appears to have been confined to that which the inhabitants were disposed to give to local roads.

Following the Norman Conquest and the growth of the manorial system, we find emerging the conception of the King's Highway, and the right of the King's subjects to pass and repass along that highway. The Sovereign, however, was mainly concerned with the King's Peace, that is to say, with security on highways, and did not contribute to their maintenance. A common law liability placed upon the Lord of the Manor the obligation to keep the roads open and in good repair, and for this purpose he was able to require his tenants to do the necessary work. Even religious houses, though for the most part free from feudal obligations, were not relieved from the duty of repairing roads and bridges. Thus, broadly speaking, road administration then lay in the hands of the landowners and the Church. The Statute of Winchester (1285)—the first recorded example of English highway legislation—enacted that landowners held their land from the State on condition that roads and bridges thereon should be properly maintained.

The disintegration of medieval civilisation during the fifteenth century, accompanied as it was by economic and social conflict and the spiritual decay of the Church, was accompanied also by the deterioration of the medieval road system and the disappearance of what administrative machinery may have existed. The result was that the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw our roads at their worst. So bad were they that Parliament was forced to take action which resulted in the Highways Act of 1555, an Act which provided the basis of highway administration for the following three centuries.

The Act of 1555 placed the obligation to maintain roads upon the parish in the absence of responsibility resting by custom

## *Public Administration*

upon any known person. Householders of £50 annual value were made responsible for the provision of tools, carts and horses, whilst every occupier, cottager and labourer was required to work on the roads for at least four days a year. The supervision of the work was entrusted to a person elected by the parish and commonly known as the "Surveyor." The qualifications for this post did not, however, call for any technical knowledge or experience, and more often than not, the "Surveyor" was no more than a small farmer or a shopkeeper.

By an Act of Elizabeth seven years later the days of Statute Labour were increased from four to six, and local justices given the power to indict a parish for neglect. This Act permitted the substitution of a money payment for fixed labour, which may be regarded as the forerunner of a general highway rate.

Notwithstanding these historic landmarks in legislation, and notwithstanding that parishes were frequently indicted for failure to carry out their duties, there seems in fact to have been little real improvement on our roads, on which the strain became greater with the development of wheeled traffic.

Wheeled traffic began to influence the conception of a proper highway system in the seventeenth century, when it may be said that the industrial revolution began, and frequent travel—other than purely local travel—first became a noticeable feature of our social habits. This development led to corresponding developments in the administration of our road system. The need for better roads for "through" travel was met by the creation of new statutory bodies called "Turnpike Trusts," the first of which was formed about the middle of the century. The Trusts were authorised to levy tolls on road users and vehicles conditionally upon accepting responsibility for road maintenance. During the eighteenth century the establishment of Trusts became general, for example, between 1760 and 1774 more than 450 Turnpike Acts were passed, while between 1785 and 1809, the total of new Acts exceeded 1,000. There were ultimately no fewer than 1,100 Turnpike Trusts in 1838 controlling about 22,000 miles of road, but at the same time there were something like 105,000 miles of parochial highways remaining in the charge of some 15,000 parishes and 20,000 surveyors.

The creation of Turnpike Trusts was probably the only possible means by which the through-road system could have been improved in the circumstances of the time; and the system in spite of its many defects served the country's purposes reasonably well until the nineteenth century.

In 1835 a Highways Act was passed, the first of the numerous nineteenth century Acts from which our present system has emerged.



## *Road Administration*

This Act, described as "an Act to consolidate and amend the laws relating to highways in that part of Great Britain called England" repealed practically all former enactments, except those relating to Turnpike Trusts, and abolished Statute Labour. The Act provided that in each parish the ratepayers assembled in vestry should be the governing authority, with power to appoint a surveyor, who in turn was empowered to levy rates. But the Act failed to recognise the need for areas larger than the parish if road administration was to be carried out efficiently.

It was hoped that advantage would be taken of a provision in the Act which permitted areas to be enlarged by voluntary amalgamations of parishes—a hope not then realised to any great extent.

The first substantial amendment to the Act of 1835 came through the passing of the Highways Act, 1862, which empowered justices of the peace compulsorily to combine parishes into highway districts under specially constituted highway boards. All that remained of the parishes as the result of these amalgamations was the right to levy rates and to appoint a Waywarden, who represented the parish on the board and might act as the local unpaid assistant of the board's salaried surveyor.

This new programme was relatively unsuccessful. It had to combat the hostility of the parishes who were loth to part with their duties in relation to roads. There was a failure to recognise that road administration was steadily drifting towards the local public health organisation, then slowly beginning to take shape. The tide of this drift had indeed already breached the authority of the parish, as the Public Health Act, 1848, had set up local boards of health in new urban areas with direct responsibility for the roads in those areas. Even before the Act of 1862 many such boards had been constituted.

Thus, at this time we find the vexed question of road administration further complicated by the antagonism of the parish, with its immemorial traditions, and the new Urban Health Authority. But, although the grouping of parishes was never completed, much grouping was, in fact, achieved and the next question to arise was how it could be completed. Here Parliament intervened, and I will refer very briefly to the material Acts and their effects.

The Public Health Act, 1872, transferred jurisdiction as to highway matters and turnpike roads to the Local Government Board which had been constituted a year before and were now responsible for public health and poor law administration. The Public Health Act of 1875, re-enacting and amending the Public Health Act of 1872, divided England and Wales for the purpose of public health



## *Public Administration*

administration into Urban and Rural Sanitary Authorities. As, by this time, urban sanitary authorities were responsible for their own roads, it became abundantly clear that a similar responsibility would pass to the rural sanitary authority. This is what, in fact, happened. The Local Government Act, 1888, constituted county councils, to whom was given responsibility for "main" roads, thus, to some extent easing the burden of the smaller authorities. It also created the county borough council and transferred to it all county roads within the borough. But something more was needed to reach the end which public opinion sought to achieve. The final stage of this phase was reached by the Local Government Act, 1894, which provided for the abolition of the highway parishes and the remaining highway districts, merging them in the rural sanitary authorities.

So, by the end of the nineteenth century, the parish, for all practical purposes, passed out of existence as a highway authority.

Let me now return to the story of the turnpike roads. These expired not so much as the result of legislative action as of railway competition, which reduced them, already weak financially, to insolvency, if not complete bankruptcy. As each trust failed to function, the parish had to undertake the care of the roads which the particular trust could no longer maintain. As the trusts continued to levy tolls, public resentment was not slow to show itself, and demonstrations, notably the Rebecca Riots in South Wales (1842-43), took place throughout the country. Gradually the trusts disappeared as Parliament refused to grant continuing powers to those who were not able to make out the strongest case for continuance. But it was not until the end of the century (1895) that the last trust, which, incidentally, was responsible for the Anglesey portion of the Shrewsbury-Holyhead Road, passed out of existence.

Summarising the position at the end of the century we find, therefore, that in the borough and urban sanitary districts the roads had become the responsibility of the local council. Outside these districts the county council was charged with the care of "main" roads, and rural district councils with the remainder. Finance was found wholly from local rates. In all there were now in England and Wales something like 1900 highway authorities, varying from the small impecunious rural district council to the wealthy county borough council, but above all there was an almost complete lack of anything in the nature of a national policy.

Up to the point now reached the two developments in means of transport which had most affected roads were the use of the wheeled vehicle and the advent of railways. Now we come to the third development, the motor vehicle.

## Road Administration

### ROAD BOARD: DEVELOPMENT AND ROAD IMPROVEMENT FUNDS ACT, 1909

The new vehicle, owing to its weight and capacity for speed, naturally led to a widespread demand for better and stronger roads, and in consequence for greater expenditure to satisfy this legitimate demand. The existing highway authorities could not unaided secure any appreciable improvement, and with a view to helping the situation the Government, by the Development and Road Improvement Funds Act of 1909, set up the Road Board, a body which was entrusted with the administration of the Road Improvement Fund which had an income amounting to about one million pounds a year. This money was expended in grants to road improvements; and some valuable experimental work was undertaken on selected lengths of road. Ordinary maintenance received no grants from the board, being left to the highway authority. The Road Board did useful work, but it would be idle to speculate on what the board might have done, how it might have developed and what would have been the resulting improvement in our highways. The catastrophic events of 1914 and the subsequent four years forced the nation to devote every effort to one end alone, the successful prosecution of the War, and all else was relegated to the background. Let us pass over these war years and come to post-War developments.

### MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT

The Ministry of Transport Act, 1919, created a new Department of Central Government, to which was transferred all powers and duties relating *inter alia* to "roads, bridges and ferries and vehicles and traffic thereon," and there was to be "attached to the Ministry a separate department charged with dealing in the ordinary course of departmental business with road construction, improvement, maintenance and development." The Road Board was thus superseded by, or rather merged in, the Roads Department of the Ministry of Transport. The new Minister was empowered by section 17 of the Act to classify roads in such manner as he might think fit for the purpose of giving financial assistance and to defray half the salary and establishment charges of the engineer or surveyor to a local authority responsible for the maintenance of such roads.

The Roads Act, 1920, established the Road Fund as successor to the Road Improvement Fund, and assigned to the new fund the proceeds of the licence duties on mechanically-propelled vehicles, to be devoted to the upkeep and improvement of public highways after meeting certain prior charges. Succeeding Chancellors of the Exchequer appropriated the balances of the Road Fund, the income

## *Public Administration*

of which, under the provisions of section 33 of the Finance Act, 1936, is now derived from annual votes of Parliament instead of from hypothecated duties.

For the purpose of the administration of the Road Fund, the roads of the country were classified as from the 1st April, 1921. The most important traffic routes (now 15.1 per cent. of the whole) are placed in Class I, and are subsidised (subject to certain variations) to the extent of 60 per cent. of the approved annual expenditure on maintenance and improvement. Roads of secondary importance (now 9.5 per cent. of the whole) are placed in Class II, and the subsidy in this case is generally 50 per cent. The remainder (75.4 per cent.) are regarded as primarily of local importance, and although occasional grants are made towards definite improvement schemes, their maintenance since the Local Government Acts of 1929 became law has been met entirely by local rates, subject to any appropriation which the highway authority may make out of the Block Grant, to which I shall refer later.

We thus find the Central Government taking a much greater part in financing road works, and from this new interest beginning to attempt to formulate and develop policy more on national lines. But still more was needed, particularly in the direction of enlarging the highway authority areas so as to secure greater continuity of practice and policy and to ease the burden falling so heavily on the smaller authorities.

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACTS, 1929

The next great changes in road administration were brought about by the Local Government Acts of 1929. It will be recalled that in England and Wales, county borough councils, rural and urban district councils were responsible for roads within their areas, while the county councils were responsible for certain roads known as "main" roads. The changes now made were far-reaching and complex, but, broadly speaking and subject to a variety of exceptions, conditions, rights and duties, the effect of the Act of 1929 in England and Wales was to transfer to the county council the management of all roads in rural districts and of all classified roads in urban districts. In Scotland there was a similar transfer of responsibility for classified roads from the small unit of the burgh council to the large unit of the county council.

The transfer took place on 1st April, 1930, and had the effect of reducing the number of highway authorities to some 1,400. The constitution of the county districts in England and Wales has been subject to changes as a result of reviews under the provisions of

## *Road Administration*

section 46 of the Act, and the position at the end of 1937 was as follows:—

					<i>Road Mileage.</i>
<i>England and Wales.</i>					
62	County Councils	...	...	...	118,349
29	City of London and Metropolitan Boroughs	...	...	...	2,350
83	County Boroughs	...	...	...	13,751
902	Municipal Boroughs and Urban Districts	...	...	...	19,307
<i>Scotland.</i>					
31	County Councils	...	...	...	23,086
24	Large Burghs	...	...	...	1,916
170	Small Burghs	...	...	...	871
<hr/>					
1,301					<hr/> 179,630 <hr/>

Another important change made by these Acts was the abolition of maintenance grants for classified roads in London and the county boroughs and for unclassified roads in counties, and the substitution of an annual payment from the Road Fund to the General Exchequer Contribution to local government expenses. This subvention from the Road Fund ceased on 1st April, 1937, but the Central Government's contribution to local revenues by way of the Block Grant—as each local authority's share of the General Exchequer Contribution is commonly called—was not thereby diminished.

It will have emerged from what has already been said that the history of highway administration is the history of a gradual widening of the areas of administration. The widening of these areas was brought about because the historic and territorial boundaries which were not inappropriate for public health purposes meant nothing to the growing volume of road transport which demanded reasonable uniformity of road conditions without relation to administrative units.

### TRUNK ROADS ACT

The culmination of this process was the Trunk Roads Act of 1936, which appointed the Minister of Transport to be, as from 1st April, 1937, the highway authority “for the principal roads in Great Britain which constitute the national system of routes for through traffic.” These were designated in the Act as “trunk roads.” Even with grants from the Road Fund and the Block Grants many authorities were finding that the financial burden of maintaining highways for use by motorists, many of whom were not ratepayers in the area, was becoming intolerable. The cost of maintaining the roads which were transferred was estimated at about

## *Public Administration*

two and a quarter million pounds per annum. After deducting Road Fund grants at the rate of 60 per cent., this left nearly one million pounds to be found by local highway authorities, in addition to the heavy but unknown burden of bringing the roads up to modern standards. The Act was therefore primarily a "relieving Act," and had the further advantage of enabling long-distance routes to be regarded as single entities for the first time. Plans for their improvement can now be considered as a whole without regard to the particular and possibly conflicting circumstances of the several areas through which they pass.

The Act made the Minister of Transport the highway authority for approximately 4,500 miles of the most important roads in Great Britain. While these roads form only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the total road mileage of Great Britain, they represent 16 per cent. of the mileage of classified roads. The biggest gaps in the system are London and the County Boroughs (large Burghs in Scotland); no roads through these places are under the Minister's control. The reason for exclusion in such cases is that these authorities are autonomous units; the trunk road is frequently the main street in the town, and it would not be appropriate for Whitehall to exercise control over the frontages and over the day-to-day administration of these thoroughfares. Moreover, the transfer of the roads would have involved the wholesale revision of the financial arrangements on which the Block Grant instituted by the Act of 1929 was based. It was recognised also that the most satisfactory solution of through traffic difficulties in these areas would be in many instances the construction of a by-pass lying wholly or mainly outside their boundaries.

The Act was drafted in such a way as to give to the Minister precisely similar powers of control over Trunk Roads as those possessed by the county councils in respect of county roads. For obvious reasons it was not considered practicable to give to the Minister exceptional powers not possessed by other highway authorities; indeed, in some respects the Minister is not so well placed—for example, he is unable to avail himself of the quick entry upon land required for road works by means of Orders under the Public Works Facilities Act, which are available to other authorities. His powers of compulsory acquisition are slow and ponderous. The control under the Restriction of Ribbon Development Act, 1935, to which I shall refer later, is shared between the Minister and the former highway authority for the road. The Minister, if he is prepared to face the compensation bill, can impose conditions to protect the road from new buildings and new points of access, but control in the interest of amenities is left with the former highway authority.

## *Road Administration*

The Trunk Roads Act was based on the assumption that in general the actual execution of works would be carried out as heretofore by the local authorities acting as agents for the Minister in pursuance of agreements in standard form drawn up in consultation with the associations of local authorities. The Minister determines what should be done, and it is carried out at his expense (plus percentage for administration) by the agent authorities. The thousand and one day-to-day decisions about the placing or removal of obstructions or questions of drainage or matters affecting frontagers, etc., are taken by the Minister's local officers in consultation with the agent authorities.

Upon the Minister's assumption of responsibility for trunk roads, a survey of their whole length was immediately put in hand and maps prepared to a scale of 6 inches to a mile, showing their existing condition and the action which it is proposed to take, whether by way of improving and widening the existing roads or of constructing by-passes and diversions. The lines of by-passes and diversions are prescribed by Orders under section 1 (3) of the Trunk Roads Act, and this work is being pushed forward as rapidly as possible with a view to safeguarding the proposed alignment of the new roads and so avoiding development which might hamper future action. Up to date over 200 Orders have been published and over 100 of them have been made effective. A governmental organisation has been set up for acquiring property for trunk road purposes, and at the end of last financial year, 31st March, 1938, the number of schemes in hand involving property acquisition was 360, comprising 7,811 separate interests: by 31st October, 1938, these totals had grown to 611 and 12,529 respectively.

The student of public administration will find much of interest in the nature of the arrangements for securing the maintenance and improvement of the trunk roads. Before the operation of the Act, the Ministry of Transport, like most of the other Civil Departments, had functions which were administrative and regulatory rather than directly executive. It is a new rôle for the Minister of Transport to be responsible from first to last for a direct service in maintaining an efficient road system in the same way as the Postmaster-General is responsible for the postal service. The change in outlook required in officers of the Ministry of Transport, from criticism of the schemes of others to the initiation of their own schemes, has not been altogether simple. Moreover, the organisation required has demanded careful framing. With the possible exception of that department of the Ministry of Health concerned in the administration of the National Health Insurance Acts, all Government departments with executive, as opposed to regulatory, functions have a unified staff spreading



## *Public Administration*

from headquarters along the radiating lines to the circumference where the actual work has to be performed. Outside headquarters, the Ministry has eight Engineering Divisional Offices, but for the detailed administration of the Trunk Roads Act those at the circumference are not part of the staff of the Department; they are local authorities, and the success of the machine naturally depends upon the maintenance of cordial co-operation and not upon the bare power of direction. I am happy to say that the harmonious relations which have for so long existed between the Ministry of Transport and local authorities generally have enabled this new relationship to be set up and to work with an encouraging absence of friction.

In a short time, however, it will no doubt be necessary to review the arrangements for delegation in the light of the experience which has been gained, and to consider in what respects those arrangements may require to be amended so as still further to improve the efficiency and to expedite the working of the administrative machine.

### RESTRICTION OF RIBBON DEVELOPMENT ACT, 1935

I now turn to a brief discussion of another recent and important development in the field of road administration—the passing of the Restriction of Ribbon Development Act, 1935.

Within recent years it has become apparent to those who are concerned with the problems of road development and safety, and no less to those who love the countryside, that the practice of utilising public highways, in lieu of providing estate roads, for the purpose of building development must be stopped.

Since the War, great efforts have been made to improve the system of highways by widening and other measures affecting the existing roads, and by building by-passes where this appeared to be a more economical and effective means of securing the requisite additional facilities for traffic.

Unfortunately, this improvement of the highway system has been accompanied by a tremendous increase in the development of the highway frontages, both for residential and commercial purposes, with the result that the additional highway space, often provided at great public expense, has become simply a parking place for the waiting vehicles of tradesmen and others whose business takes them to the roadside buildings. Thus, in many cases, the original purpose of the highway improvement has been largely defeated. But, bad as it is from the economic standpoint, the evil of ribbon development does not stop there. This form of development, often with shops, schools, factories and residential property on both sides of the road, has created a serious safety problem which has led to demands from many quarters that these expensive highways shall be treated, *e.g.*,



## *Road Administration*

by the provision of lighting and the imposition of speed limits, as if they were ordinary estate roads.

I believe, however, that the public conscience has now been aroused to the evils of ribbon development, and I have every hope that with the powers conferred upon them by the Restriction of Ribbon Development Act, 1935, highway authorities will be successful in their efforts to prevent this disease from spreading.

Some ten years ago we did not recognise that the by-pass for which we obtained the land cheaply, by reason of the betterment of adjacent land, was to turn out a bad bargain when that land was developed. When we build a new by-pass to-day we retain under the Act of 1935 complete control of new means of access to it.

By the passing of the Act, restrictions were automatically imposed in relation to all roads that were classified on 17th May, 1935—some 43,000 miles.

Since the passing of the Act, highway authorities, by resolutions approved by the Minister of Transport, have brought an additional 25,000 miles under control, so that restrictions now apply to about 68,000 miles.

Broadly speaking, the restrictions are that without the consent of the highway authority no one may build within 220 feet of the middle of the restricted road or construct a new means of access to the road. Some authorities are, unhappily, chary of refusing consent for fear of potential liability for compensation.

The Act has established the position that a person wishing to develop land fronting a public highway may be required to provide the roads for that development in the same way and to the same extent as would have been necessary if the public highway did not exist.

Further, the control of access encourages and, in the last resort, compels the developer to think in terms of group development, and to prepare plans, often in co-operation with both highway and planning authorities, which are free from the uneconomical and ugly features which characterised ribbon building of the pre-Act type. It thus frequently happens that, while control of access is primarily designed to preserve the traffic value of the highway, it can and does exercise an indirect but positive influence on planning beyond the highway boundary, quite apart from the direct control over the erection of buildings within 220 feet of the middle of the road.

Many thousands of applications for consent to building and the construction of new means of access are dealt with annually by highway authorities and, notwithstanding that in a substantial number of cases consent is withheld or made subject to conditions, only 220 appeals were made to the Minister in 1937-38 against the

## *Public Administration*

decisions of highway authorities, and during the year 107 appeals were withdrawn, mostly following the exchange of views between the parties. This, I think, is a testimony both to the wisdom and fairness with which the control is being exercised by the highway authorities and to the goodwill of developers who are accepting the restrictions as a measure required in the public interest. Of the 124 decisions given on appeals during 1937-38, 45 were in favour of the appellants.

Experience of dealing with these appeals has shown that there is developing throughout the country a close co-operation between developers and highway authorities. This the Minister of Transport is taking every opportunity of encouraging, as it is clear that the successful administration of this Act largely depends upon the extent to which this co-operation can be maintained.

### ROAD RESEARCH

The large annual expenditure on roads, whether by the Ministry or by highway authorities, demands that full advantage shall be taken of scientific investigation into all that appertains to road design and construction. Road research is undertaken by the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, under the advice of a Board composed of engineers and scientists, of which the Chief Engineer of the Ministry of Transport is Chairman. There are, in addition, a number of committees which have been established by the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and the Ministry, in co-operation with associations representing specific sections of the road-making industry. These afford opportunities for the free exchange of information and advice regarding investigations into the use and behaviour of various road materials; certain of these investigations are conducted on a contributory basis.

Research is carried out principally at the Road Research Laboratory, Harmondsworth, and complementary full-scale experiments on the open road are undertaken by the Ministry of Transport, acting on the advice of a technical committee composed largely of the highway engineers who are members of the Road Research Board. In this way close connection is maintained between scientific work in the laboratory and actual practice on the road. Reports are published annually and bulletins issued from time to time recording the results of special investigations. The cost of this research work, which in the year 1935-36 was about £50,000, will increase to £90,000 during the current year 1938-39—the increase being largely due to the capital cost of extending the Harmondsworth station, including the provision of a skidding track, etc.

# Road Administration

## ROAD EXPENDITURE

Having thus surveyed the development of road administration and discussed the position which has now been reached, it will perhaps be of some interest if we look just for a moment at the expenditure which is involved in maintaining and improving the road system of this country. The average annual expenditure during the three years 1922-24 was fifty million pounds, and rose to fifty-eight million pounds during the following five years. The Labour Government's drive to cure unemployment brought the average of the three years 1930-32 up to sixty-seven million pounds, but the economy campaign of the next four years brought it down to about fifty-two million pounds. For the last two years the average has risen again to about fifty-nine million pounds. The cost of maintenance, repair, minor improvement, cleansing and reinstatement now exceeds forty million pounds annually, but it is interesting to note that the cost of the first three items per mile of Class I road has fallen from over £600 in 1924 to under £400 in 1936.

The cost of schemes of major improvement and new construction varies greatly according to the width and layout of the road and the physical conditions encountered. For a new road 120 feet in width, with dual carriageways, cycle tracks and footpaths, the cost might vary from £50,000 to £75,000 per mile. One cannot give an estimate of the cost of widening in built-up areas owing to variations in overall widths and the value of the properties to be acquired. In many cases the latter is the dominating factor in the situation. Expenditure on these capital works is increasing. It amounted to 8.6 million pounds in 1933-34, to 10.7 million pounds in 1935-36, and exceeded 12 million pounds last year. Some authorities, like the Government, meet these costs out of revenue, but the majority borrow in order to spread the charge. The outstanding highway debt amounts to about one hundred million pounds.

No official information since 1929 is available as to the number of men employed on road works, but "Basic Road Statistics, 1938," published by the British Road Federation, estimates the number of persons employed on road construction and maintenance as 100,000. This figure is based on a total annual expenditure on roads of fifty-eight million pounds, an average weekly wage of 52s. 6d., and the assumption that 25 per cent. of the cost of the roads is for wages.

## CONCLUSION

In endeavouring within the compass of this Paper to give a description of the development of road administration in this country, I have necessarily had to indulge in a great deal of compression.

## *Public Administration*

However, I hope that the picture which I have tried to draw will be found sufficiently complete to enable the broad lines of that development to be followed with reasonable ease and to indicate the causes which have led to the present stage in this field of administration. I would only make one further remark. It will be clear that there is nothing static in the sphere of road administration. Largely as a result of the development of the internal combustion engine, the population is becoming ever more mobile and the demand for transport facilities is ever growing. New problems are being created and new methods will have to be devised in order to meet them.

# Outline of the Scottish Educational System.

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## I. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

IT is extremely difficult to understand the construction of the modern educational system of Scotland without some knowledge, however slight, of what has gone before. Moreover, in endeavouring to trace the development of Scottish educational institutions, it is not easy to disentangle the thread from the web of social, economic and ecclesiastical history or to understand the process of evolution without having some regard to the geography of the country and the changing trends of its population. Within the space of as short an outline as this there is no room to draw what, it is felt, would prove an intriguing and fascinating background. A few general impressions are, however, necessary to a proper understanding of what follows.

One must picture a country 274 miles from north to south and 146 miles at its point of greatest breadth—in area, something like 30,000 square miles. Its northern and western seas are studded with islands of various shapes and sizes. The whole country is divisible into three distinct regions, each with a different relief, rocks and structure, so that the occupations of the people inhabiting them differ considerably. A rift valley runs across the Midlands of the country from the south-west to the north-east, separating the high land in the north, known as the Highlands, from the not quite so high land in the south to which the name of Southern Uplands has been given. The flat, central plain between, extending from the Clyde on the west to the Forth on the east, has been the cradle of Scotland's industrial growth. In its northern and western parts Scotland is hilly and mountainous and faces out to the turbulent Atlantic. Its

## *Public Administration*

east coast is flat and it laps the narrow sea separating Scotland from Germany, Denmark and the Scandinavian countries. Over its southern borders which impinge on England have come throughout the centuries so much that was born of strife and so much also that was an influence for good.

Place on this land a population of something like four-and-three-quarter million people, densest in the south and west and shading off to the north and east, the rural parts rapidly dwindling in numbers, the urban areas, particularly in the middle belt, steadily increasing, but with the population as a whole tending to shrink, and you have the canvas upon which the story can begin to unfold.

It is not difficult to realise that in ancient times there should have been a fundamental difference between the fiery inhabitants of the rugged north and the more placid people of the southern parts. We had, therefore, a period dominated by the Gaelic type of civilisation under which the people clung to their clan chiefs, followed about the eleventh century by a time when feudal ideas were spreading in Scotland and adjustments were being made to a type of social organisation that was becoming common over all western Europe. The period was one of intense organising activity. Preceded by a period of comparative quietness, the seventeenth century saw the beginning of Scotland's struggle for industrial progress which became accelerated as the nineteenth century was approached. Compared with England, however, Scottish economic life was never obtrusive, for other aspects of national affairs seemed to interest her people more. Although backward, however, in industrial development and in social organisation, the Scots remained throughout a proud yet poor race but intellectually alive and with a keen sense of equality.

The evolution of Scottish Local Government is no less interesting from the crude forms of rule by chieftainship of early times, up through feudalism which rooted allegiance to the King in the very soil itself and made its owners, therefore, the administrators of law and justice, on to the machinery erected by the Sovereign for the control of affairs in the shape of castles and sheriffdoms; the waning of the powers of the sheriffs with the rise of the large towns and royal burghs; the appointment of commissioners of supply for the assessment and collection of taxes as the needs and therefore the appetite for governing grew, and the institution, through English influence, of Justices of the Peace for the oversight of administrative details affecting roads and bridges and the increasing amenities of the time. Later on, these Commissioners and Justices were to be swept away with the rise of influence of town councils and the creation of County Councils during the period of reform of Local Government beginning in 1833.

## *Outline of the Scottish Educational System*

All this creaking machinery of State, however, was supplemented from the earliest times, as one writer puts it, "By the activities of the church, traditionally the protector of poverty, the guardian of morality and the patron of learning."

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the first glimmer of organised education is associated with the foundation of the monasteries. The monastic system, established by St. Columba in the sixth century, sowed the seeds of culture which gradually spread to the pagan tribes throughout the land. With the advent of culture came a new form of religion in the shape of Christianity, and to the monasteries were sent youths not only to be trained as monks but to receive a general education. Through this influence there gradually came into being a uniformity of spoken and written language and an early form of literature.

After a period of ecclesiastical struggle and the predominance of the Church of Rome all the rich culture and resources of Italy were poured into the country with a permanent and beneficial effect on Scottish education. Besides the secular instruction carried on within the walls of the Church there sprang up schools in neighbouring burghs and in towns and parishes in more distant parts.

We must not suppose when considering this early period that educational provision was universal. It was confined to the privileged few, namely, those destined for the Church as the one learned profession of that time and the sons of the wealthier classes who were to be fitted for the service of their country in other capacities. The Royal High School of Edinburgh, for instance, was an offshoot in this way from the Abbey School of Holyrood. The curriculum was confined to religious instruction and classical literature. Music also formed an important part as was to be expected from the devotional side of the Church. It is said, indeed, that many of our lovely Scottish airs have been handed down from this source.

The feudal system which was introduced by the Church then began to have an influence. From now onwards through the centuries the parish attained importance as a unit and to each parish church there became attached a school, or at least in those parts where the Church was not too impoverished. Despite the many gaps, these schools gained a tremendous influence in educating and humanising the population in rural districts.

The rise to power of the burghs and the gradual passing of control of burgh schools to the local councils marked the next important stage with a definite widening of curriculum to include Science, Writing, Arithmetic and Languages.

A significant feature of the early educational system is that it was intended for boys. Girls in these days received most of their training



## *Public Administration*

in their homes except, possibly, those of the wealthier classes who may have been sent to convents.

Until 1411 Scottish youths desirous of higher learning had to travel afield to foreign universities. That year saw the foundation of St. Andrew's University by the Church and other universities were established successively in Glasgow and Aberdeen. Edinburgh University was not founded until after the Reformation.

The intellectual life of Scotland was, therefore, for centuries centred in the Church and the Church was not only the bearer of culture and learning but, also, through being a great landowner, it taught the people the arts of agriculture and horticulture and the rudiments of commerce.

Thereafter the influence of the Roman Church began to wane. The burghs more and more secured control of their schools as the requirements of national education slowly widened.

The spirit of unrest which spread over Europe was reflected in Scotland in the Reformation which swept away the Roman Catholic Church and saw the building up of new ecclesiastical and educational systems. The clergy of the Reformed Church were zealous for the cause of education and schemes of reorganisation of the schools and universities were soon forthcoming. Most of these schemes were intended to be financed on the revenues of the lands wrested from the old Church, but, unfortunately, in the general trouble the fortunes of the Church had been plundered and dissipated.

It is interesting to scan the First Book of Discipline of these times, which, by the way, is attributed to John Knox, and to see how it planned to have a complete national system of education from the Primary School to the University: that education should be compulsory and for all classes and that a pupil should remain at school until the special talent was discovered by which he could best serve the community. Alas, for various reasons this merely remained a "devout imagination." It is a humbling thought, however, that modern advancement in Scottish education has been along the lines of this most enlightened code of the sixteenth century.

The Reformed Church got little or no help from the State in its early attempt to advance learning and establish schools throughout the land. At least it is fairly certain that from 1560 to 1633 Parliament made no proper provision for the founding and maintenance of schools. The Church had the whole devising and carrying out of any schemes of primary education which the common people enjoyed and the burden also of supporting the schools. It is not until 1633 that we find the State coming to the help of the Church. In that year Parliament made provision for the establishment of schools and the support of schoolmasters and in many ways befriended Kirk

## *Outline of the Scottish Educational System*

Sessions in their supervision of the educational interests of parishes.

This partial provision and help on the part of the State stretched over a period of 200 years and came to a termination in 1872 when the State charged itself with the entire responsibility of providing primary education for the people. Under an Act of that year elementary education became universal and advanced rapidly. Attendance at school was made compulsory and every parent had to provide elementary education in reading, writing and arithmetic for his children.

There is more than a suspicion that the intervention of the State is to be accounted for less by reason of a laudable desire to raise the level of the masses than by a selfish fear that in the changing conditions of the country through the advent of the Industrial Revolution an illiterate population would prove a constant menace to the security of the body politic.

While the State fostered the two extremes, as it were, elementary education and university education, it left the stage between almost in a state of starvation. The higher branches of day school education were allowed to subsist on whatever they could get in the way of endowments or fees; and apart from some slight financial assistance towards the turn of the century it was not until the Acts of 1908 and 1918 that more advanced day school education definitely became the concern of the State. The latter Act might justly be described as the charter of modern Scottish education for it brought the enlarged areas of administration and envisaged the widening of the scope and duties of local education authorities to cover all forms of popular education and many additional powers of social amelioration. It also embraced within the public educational system of the country all denominational schools of whatever Church.

### II. CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

I shall now turn for a moment to an outline of the main administrative control of education in Scotland. The nominal central authority is a Committee of the Privy Council of Great Britain but, in practice, controlling power is held by the Vice-President of that Committee, who is Secretary of State for Scotland. He is the responsible political head of the system. The Scottish Education Department proper is a Department of the Civil Service and its chief Executive Officer—the Secretary—is the man whose finger is on the pulse of educational affairs. The Secretary is a member of the Civil Service with continuity of office independent of political changes and he acts as the permanent administrative head of the Department. Various changes are contemplated in this structure under the re-

## *Public Administration*

organisation of government departments consequent upon the transfer of staffs from London to the new government offices in Edinburgh. These changes are intended to strengthen the control of the Secretary of State and to bring his administration in closer and more living touch with Scottish officers.

The Department issues from time to time Codes of Regulations dealing with the organisation and curricula of schools and arranges for the allocation of Grant from the State. It keeps in touch with the working of the schools through a system of inspection and it conducts the examinations for the school leaving certificates. For purposes of inspection the country is divided into four parts, each division being subdivided into districts, each in charge of an inspector with assistants. There is no local inspection as in England.

In matters of school medical inspection and treatment, control is vested in the Department of Health for Scotland, which works in close co-operation with the central department for education.

### III. THE PLACE OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

The process of centralisation in local administration has been extremely rapid. The 947 school boards which existed up to 1919 gave place in that year to some 37 education authorities. Since 1930 the local authority for education has been the county council except in the case of the four large cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen where the town council acts in this capacity. There are thus only 35 local education authorities in the whole of Scotland and these have the control of all forms of education whether primary, secondary or continuative. They are, moreover, strongly represented on the governing bodies for the training of teachers, central institutions for higher technical education and the universities. The functions of these councils as local education authorities are exercised through a statutory Education Committee. All matters affecting educational administration have been referred to these committees and in the majority of areas there is almost complete delegation, subject to budgetary control.

### IV. DUTIES AND POWERS OF LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

The duties and powers of local education authorities arise in the main from a long range of Acts beginning in 1872 and culminating for the present in 1936, and, in regard to special functions, from the Children Act, the Mental Deficiency Act, the Blind Persons Act and a large number of subsidiary measures. Scarcely a year passes without some additional activity being thrust upon them until it is

## *Outline of the Scottish Educational System*

no exaggeration to say that education authorities care for the individual from the cradle to the grave—from children in nursery schools sucking at their bottle of milk to the veterans of the Continuation Schools who at the ripe old age of 70 or more begin the study of foreign languages.

The regulation of detail under these Acts is left to the Scottish Education Department or other appropriate Department of State.

Under the Act of 1918 it is the duty of education authorities to make adequate provision throughout their areas for all forms of Primary, Intermediate and Secondary Education in Day Schools without payment of fees and they may, if they think fit, maintain in addition a limited number of fee-paying establishments. The arrangements have to be approved by the Department who are the judges as to the adequacy of the provision in each case.

### V. THE EDUCATIONAL MACHINE

The main lines of development of the Scottish educational system have been influenced by two leading conceptions:—

(1) That there is an age at which a child can be regarded as ripe for more advanced instruction. In England this has been taken as 11 plus years, but in Scotland we are apt to think that a more secure foundation should be laid and we regard the suitable age for termination of elementary studies in the case of a child in good health and of average capacity as in the neighbourhood of 12 years.

(2) That at this critical age a child requires a change of environment to a school where he can begin more intensive studies in company with others of roughly equal attainment and bent.

Thus has arisen our modern educational fabric of primary school for children from the age of about five to twelve, at which latter age there is in each area some form of determining examination or test which shall show whether a child is ready for transfer and also to what particular course of advanced education he should go. This machinery of selection is rapidly leaning towards objective methods of testing through the influence of modern educational thought. Following upon this there has been the centralisation of advanced education so that such units might be established as would make it reasonably economical to provide the varied courses necessary although, in rural areas, doubts are beginning to be expressed as to the wisdom socially of carrying such a process too far. So we have come to have Advanced Divisions, or Intermediate Schools, for children from twelve to fifteen years of age and Secondary Schools for children from twelve to seventeen or eighteen years of age. The

## *Public Administration*

former provide courses of one, two or three years' duration, which are characterised by their more practical nature, and the latter provide courses on more academic lines. In some cases the two types of courses are provided in the same school and there is really no sharp distinction. It is unfortunate that in the mind of the public the type of education given in the Advanced Divisions is fairly generally regarded, although quite wrongly, as of a lower standing than that given in the earlier years of Secondary Schools. The new code to which reference is made later may help to dispel this idea.

The obligation of education authorities does not end here. Having safely escorted the child through the Day School, there must needs be provided a continuative system, either by means of schools conducted by the authority themselves in the evening or by resort to payment of bursaries and grants to enable the young persons, as they are now, to go to centres of more advanced or technical education, such as training colleges, central institutions and universities.

By these means, therefore, we have in Scotland a machine so co-ordinated that facilities are available for a child from his entry to school at five years of age to progress, if he desires and he has the necessary capacity, from the Primary stage to the university and that without regard to the means of his parents.

### VI. THE EVERYDAY WORK OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

The actual everyday work of the education committees falls under three main heads. First, to provide and maintain adequate and proper accommodation and equipment; second, to see that qualified staff are appointed and that their efficiency is preserved; and third, to provide courses of instruction suitable to the needs of the pupils and in conformity with regulations.

Great improvements have been effected in recent years in regard to school accommodation. The cramped and dingy premises are giving place gradually to spacious, well-lighted and ventilated buildings—in many cases practically surrounded by playing fields. The use of trees and shrubs is also increasing. Investigations are proceeding in regard to attractive layouts and schemes of decoration so as to make the schools things of beauty externally and internally, which will have of themselves an educative and refining influence. In matters of equipment there is great variety of practice, but in the majority of local education areas free books are provided. Some of the education authorities prescribe approved lists from which the schools requisition, but in no place is there a rigid prescription of the texts to be used in the classroom as is common in many of the countries on the continent of Europe. There has been recently an awakening of interest in such modern educational aids as the epidia-

## *Outline of the Scottish Educational System*

scope, the film slide lantern, broadcasting, and the cinematograph.

Bricks and mortar having been provided, the authority must then turn to the task of appointing the teaching personnel upon whose capabilities the success or failure of the whole system virtually depends. The Scottish system of training of teachers is controlled by a National Committee which operates through four Provincial Committees upon which the teaching profession and the local authorities are represented. Courses of training are provided for various types of teachers—primary, secondary and specialists. On satisfactory completion of a course, the intending teacher receives a Certificate from the State Department. The task of selecting teachers is left thereafter to each local authority although in the case of denominational schools the Church must approve of the staff as regards religious belief and character. Scotland has all along been fortunate in the high quality of its teachers. In no other country has such a high proportion of school staffs prepared themselves for their work by university studies, almost forty per cent. of all Scottish teachers—Primary, Secondary and Technical—being graduates; and in teaching methods the Scottish schools are constantly held up as an example. Despite this, Scottish administrators are far from being convinced that the system of training is perfect or that the last word has been heard in educational method. Inquiry and research are proceeding at present in these two directions. The most difficult and yet probably the most interesting aspect of the inquiries is an attempt to see whether we can ensure that such qualities as physical well-being, personality and temperament are given equal or even greater weight in the selection and training of prospective teachers than academic qualifications. The high degree of specialisation that is running through the training system to-day has also given concern.

We may have the best of accommodation and the most highly skilled staffs, but if we fail to provide proper courses of instruction all is in vain. Unlike some of the countries on the continent of Europe, there are no rigid regulations in Scotland in regard to courses of instruction. The Department determine the general lines which courses should follow in the various divisions of the schools but leave the actual framing of details to the local authorities. In this way courses can be adapted to suit the needs of particular localities and also to admit of a great deal of experimental work. In the devising of the courses the teachers have a very large say. In Edinburgh, indeed, and in other places, the main schemes have actually been drawn up by panels of expert teachers in consultation with the Department's Inspectors. Within the general framework each individual school has a great deal of liberty in the construction of its schemes of work.



## *Public Administration*

An examination of the schemes of most primary schools in Scotland will show that there is little superfluous matter included. Arithmetic is limited to what is essential for the needs of daily life and for the foundations of later work. Stress is laid naturally on English; correct and beautiful speech, clear and expressive reading, lucid and careful writing are the main aims. Formal grammar is considerably reduced in scope; history and geography have been reduced in content so as to make sure of a minimum of exact knowledge for later studies, the main aim being to interest the pupils in the subjects rather than to store up a multitude of facts. The Scottish Council for Research in Education is occupied at present, however, in a close examination of the scheme of every primary school to see whether the work cannot be lightened, changes in emphasis made and the curriculum as a whole better related to psychological needs of children.

In the Advanced Divisions or Intermediate Schools the first and principal aim is the continuance and development of general education on the moral and physical not less than on the intellectual side. The main instrument of intellectual training are the English subjects together with Mathematics and Science and, as a rule, Drawing. Account is then taken of local conditions and of the needs and aptitudes of individual scholars, and every course, therefore, consists of an appropriate combination of subjects and has a character of its own.

One of the most prominent trends in Scottish education has been the steadily increasing demand for secondary education and likewise for the widening of its conception. There is nothing more striking than the increasing number of outlets that have been found for the creative instincts of children, and studies are becoming more and more realistic. This spirit has penetrated from the primary stage to the more advanced branches of school work and the increased value of such instruction in our schools with its obvious effects of mental activity and clear and purposeful thinking is serving to prove that a practical education need not necessarily be narrow. This is leading the thoughts of educationists to a reassessment of the place of the practical or even the vocational in our school system.

In addition to the enlivening which has been going on within the school curriculum itself, there has been a reaching out on the part of the school to outside influences designed to give the child an understanding of the relation of study to world affairs, such as, organised visits to art galleries and museums, which are definitely linked up with the schemes of work and supplemented by the circulation of art reproductions; visits to places of interest and public works; school excursions, camps and journeys, both at home and abroad;



## *Outline of the Scottish Educational System*

open-air classes; library work both within and outwith the school building in co-operation with the public libraries; cinematograph and theatrical shows of educational interest, and many other activities and developments.

Even when the child has completed his day school education the interest of the authority is not ended. They have then to co-operate in helping him to secure employment or in guiding him to further courses of study and, in many instances, assisting him financially. In the case of those who obtain employment, authorities must also provide some organised system of after-supervision to see that they are happily and usefully placed. A most interesting innovation in this direction is the experimentation which is going on in connection with psychological testing so as to determine broadly what lines of employment pupils should or should not follow.

In their Continuation Schools the education authority take an active part in the further education of youth. The organisation of these schools recognises that adolescents must be shown how to apply their general education to the occupations upon which they have entered; that they must be made to understand the principles underlying these occupations; that they shall be taught the full meaning of citizenship, and shall be given that physical training which is essential to the maintenance of good health and the development of a sound physique, and, moreover, that they shall be made capable of spending their leisure time in a rational and proper way.

In addition to their main duties, which I have just described, education authorities have many other specialised functions which can only be mentioned, such as, the enforcement of school attendance, provision of special schools for defective children, responsibility for the provision of various forms of institutional treatment, the provision of meals and clothing for necessitous children, the medical inspection and treatment of children, co-operation in regard to the pre-school child, the provision and upkeep of playing fields, the administration of byelaws to prevent exploitation of child life in employment, co-operation in the great work of prevention which is going on in the Juvenile Courts, and many other duties of a varied but important nature.

The most recent additions are the provision of Instructional Centres for unemployed juveniles between 14 and 18 years of age, and the duty of acting as distributing agent under the scheme of milk for school children under which nearly half of the entire school population of Scotland are supplied with a bottle of the best grade of milk every day.

## *Public Administration*

### VII. DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY

There are developments looming ahead in regard to expansion of educational opportunities both in England and in Scotland. The Governmental programme has been described as a wide advance all along the educational front.

The Education (Scotland) Act of 1936 is certainly a measure which holds great possibilities for the advancement of education in Scotland. Its principal purpose is to provide for the raising of the school leaving age to 15 years as at 1st September, 1939. The minimum age for exemption from attendance at school is raised from 12 to 14 years, and far-reaching provisions are instituted for the exemption of children who have attained the age of 14 on the ground that they have secured beneficial employment. While the Act lays down general considerations which shall be kept in mind, such as health, suitability of employment and opportunities for further education and recreation, the responsibility for the granting of employment certificates and for the control of their working is devolved upon local education authorities. Provision is also made for temporary exemption in cases where children over 14 years are required to give assistance at home in times of domestic emergency and where their retention at school would cause exceptional hardship. It is clear that difficulties will arise where spheres of employment overlap in different education areas and where educational provision and organisation vary as between these areas. It is clear also, that the conception of what constitutes beneficial employment will also vary considerably. Careful regulations and co-operation between authorities will, therefore, be called for if this educational development is to bear fruit. Consideration will require to be given, in particular, to the kind of continued education which exempted children are to be required to follow. It is to be hoped that advantage will be taken for the expansion of the Day Continuation Class system linked up with properly devised systems of entry and training for the various industries and occupations of the country. It is felt that release from school to take up employment, if coupled with some further systematic education and training during the day, would in many cases mean the opening of a door of intellectual interest and freedom. The provision of Day Continuation Classes would, moreover, mean some control over the whole age group of youths from 14 to 18 years of age, many of whom at present take up no form of further instruction after leaving school. The co-ordination of the whole educational system with the needs of industry and commerce must, however, remain a dream of to-morrow.

The Act makes a number of important changes in regard to education and training of various types of defective children, as a result

## *Outline of the Scottish Educational System*

of which deaf children are now to receive attention at an earlier age and their education and training widened considerably and provision for physically and mentally defective children will become mandatory upon local authorities.

The Act also envisages a wider conception of secondary education which will remove meaningless distinctions as to the relative importance and standing of different types of schools and courses, and make it possible for education authorities to provide under one broad, unified system of post-primary education, courses which will suit the needs and capacities of all types of children. A new code of regulations for day schools may be expected with a memorandum of the principles that the Department suggest should be followed in the framing of courses of instruction. If the new regulations in regard to the Leaving Certificate Examination with their greater freedom in choice of subjects are to be regarded as indicative of the attitude of the Department, it is confidently expected that the code and its accompanying memorandum will have that broad progressive outlook on education which will give the necessary freedom to authorities to ensure a more harmonious and a better balanced education for all young people and to secure an effective bridge between the school and the great and interesting life of industry and commerce beyond its gates. Courses of post-primary education will be re-cast to meet the new conditions. A particular concern will be the provision for the less academically gifted children and for those who, for various reasons, cannot keep up with the ordinary pace of school work.

Another broad trend which is influencing educational organisation is the increasing tendency of the school to become a social force. Schools are ever reaching out in a search for contact with reality and the modern world. The Act of 1936 makes this process still wider in the powers given to education authorities to provide vacation schools, play centres and holiday and school camps for children and for young persons attending continuation classes.

Changes are made in the law governing the award of bursaries and the payment of travelling expenses to students attending continuation classes which should make possible important regional schemes of technical instruction. There is coming a change of attitude towards the comparative worth of technical education as compared with more academic learning. The technical college must become a co-partner with the university. There must be as clearly defined a road from the lowest rung of the day school ladder to the higher branches of technical education as there is in the case of the professions and the university. The universities would stand to gain

## *Public Administration*

immensely from this sharing of responsibility; to achieve a freedom to attend to the work for which they were instituted.

Many developments are in contemplation, however, which did not require the sanction of new legislation. These are outlined in a range of departmental circulars which cover such matters as extension of nursery schools, increased physical education, changes in school health administration and expansion in the spheres of technical and adult education. Thus is recognised the need for additional care in the formative years before school life begins, whether in regard to training in social habits, in the conservation of health or in the earlier treatment of defects; the need for still closer co-operation between the educational service and trade and industry, and the growing demands of the adult population for increased facilities and opportunities of cultural, recreational and leisure time pursuits. Although the Scottish continuation class system is extremely successful we must recognise that there is a large body of thinking people who prefer other means of seeking information and culture. In the sphere of adults, education is on the verge of becoming a communal service. New agencies such as the wireless, the film and community centres and the modernising of old services such as the public library system are spreading the net wider and wider. This expansion of leisure time and cultural and recreational pursuits among adults owes much to that "new humanism" which has been in operation for some time in the schools. The increasing attention given in schools to art and crafts, to physical education and music and to dramatic work and the like are now having their effect further up the scale.

In this work of revision of school courses and arrangements, however, the education committees will require to give prominence to the claims of physical education and health generally in the light of the Government's campaign for a fitter and healthier race. From a diagnostic and remedial force, the School Medical Service is now being expanded on the side of prevention and there is slowly emerging a branch of education which has as its aim the maintenance of health in the widest sense. The national campaign interests education at four points, viz., (1) the nursery school with its laying of healthy social habits and the early detection and treatment of crippling conditions and diseases; (2) the study of nutrition which, in its modern aspect, is seeking through dietary surveys and a search for objective standards of measurement to bring about a general raising of the level of physical well-being of our school children; (3) health education which is assuming an increasingly positive attitude in its co-operation between school doctor and teacher through such things as training in good habits, rules of personal health, the value of foodstuffs, and the teaching of physiology and biology in the upper

## *Outline of the Scottish Educational System*

classes; and (4) physical education, which in its fight for a place in the sun over the last sixty years or so has now assumed a prominence in the thoughts of those who are framing school courses. There has been realised at last the primary importance of the co-ordination of mental, moral and physical education in an endeavour to produce a harmonious and rhythmical development of the whole child.

To such difficult matters of adjustment and balance, therefore, must education committees and their staffs direct themselves when they are planning their schemes for the future so as to ensure that nothing is lost of this educational advance to the youth of Scotland.

# Reviews

## Parliamentary Government

*Parliamentary Government in England.* (A commentary.) By HAROLD J. LASKI. Pp. 442. (George Allen and Unwin.) 12s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR LASKI is an enthusiast for the British Constitution—at times to the point of rhapsody. He does not, however, regard all its institutions as good and consistent with each other. The House of Lords, for instance, he regards as a dangerous survival in a democratic age, finding support for this view in the conduct of that assembly in relation to the Irish problem between 1912-14. The Irish problem also serves to give point to his dislike of the class basis of army organisation and discipline. Nor is he quite happy regarding the law courts, particularly on questions of property rights in relation to social services or trade union law. But the increasingly democratic basis of the House of Commons, the growth in its power, the contact of its members with their constituencies, its relations—through the cabinet—with the administrative departments on the one hand and party management on the other, are greatly to his liking.

This encouraging backward prospect does not lead Professor Laski to a limitless confidence when he peers into the future. Nor would it be accurate to say that he succumbs to the "guess an' fear" attitude which is so widespread at present. He is assertive and argumentative on the subject—finding a basis for pessimism in the doctrine of the class war—which he believes is implicit in the Labour Party programme and the Conservative opposition to it. This, he argues, raises issues which are different in kind—and more compelling in their emotional appeal—than any of those over which politicians bickered with safety in the past.

Here we enter the realm of mere opinion. So many unknown, and at present unknowable, factors are involved in any forecast of the future that it is possible neither to accept nor to reject Professor Laski's forebodings. One is reminded, however, that many class war believers fail to find the embodiment of their creed in the Labour Party programme, and, on the other hand, many Labour Party supporters deny the unique significance of the class war. Other emotions, related to such diverse ideals as national fitness, economic



## Reviews

efficiency, technological advance and humanitarianism, contribute support to many of the proposals found in the Labour Party programmes. Without some measure of these contributions, prophecy of unconstitutional resistance appears to be peculiarly dangerous.

The critical and argumentative passages in this book, however, are not such as to invalidate the claim that Professor Laski is in fact an enthusiast for the British Constitution. From a chapter of over 80 pages on the House of Commons the following is a fairly typical passage and, in addition, is of special interest to readers of this journal:

"The process of questioning has important results. It brings the work of the Departments of State into the public view. It makes them realise that they are functioning under a close public scrutiny which will continuously test their efficiency and honesty. It mitigates, even if it cannot wholly prevent, the danger that bureaucratic habits will develop in the Civil Service, men who have to answer day by day for their decisions will tend so to act that they can give a good account of themselves."

In the extraction and publication of information, in the ventilation of grievances; in the selection of responsible ministers; in the public debate of events and in its control and support of administration Professor Laski has nothing but good to say of the House of Commons. The most significant reform proposed is the increased use of committees—to advise, but not to control, Ministers on the management of their Departments; to supervise the operations of Departments in the exercise of their powers to make rules having the effect of laws; fact-finding committees, and committees for the exploration of policies and so on.

Two most interesting features in the chapter on the Cabinet are the description of a Prime Minister, and the analysis of the consideration and co-ordination of policy and administration. In this connection the "Cabinet Secretariat," the "Committee on Civil Research"—instituted 1925, the Economic Advisory Council—1929, and Sir William Beveridge's and H. D. Henderson's proposed "Economic General Staff" are each considered. Of the "Council" he says:

"It . . . was ill-conceived for the purposes Mr. MacDonald had in view. It was futile to expect a large mixed body to arrive at agreed conclusions upon large general issues about the very premises of which they were not agreed. It was a mistake, further, to superimpose a general advisory body of this kind, charged with no administrative responsibility for its findings, upon



## *Public Administration*

a Civil Service which was, in a number of departments, already duplicating its work."

Of the proposed Economic General Staff:

"At the back of the idea . . . there are . . . first the assumption that there exists a body of expert knowledge which ought to be made available for political use . . . [But] the expert formulation of social knowledge never takes us very far; its meaning is learned far more from a quality of mind and heart that I can only call wisdom than from the possession of expertise."

Having disposed of the Economic Council because it failed to recognise the substantial validity of administrative responsibility, and of the General Staff because of the doubtful validity of objective economic truths, Professor Laski is left only with the Committee of Civil Research, and the possibilities of this experiment depend mainly on accidental and fortuitous circumstances such as the special interest of the Prime Minister.

In various forms, however, the problem of economic and social planning keeps cropping up. In particular consideration of "time" appears to claim almost as much weight as "wisdom." It appears that the average time lag between the publication of a Royal Commission Report and the legislative enactment of its policy is eighteen years. Then, again, so much time was lost between 1929 and 1931, in drawing from the departments administratively sound educational proposals for legislation that the opportunity for this legislation was lost altogether.

As a solution of this problem Professor Laski suggests that when a new government comes into power—in particular when a Labour Government comes into office—it should bring with it proposals in an advanced stage of preparedness for legislative action. The risk of an administrative misfit arising from such a procedure is obvious—but it appears the only alternative to a time lag of eighteen years to give legislative effect to Royal Commission Reports and two years to draft Labour Party Bills—it therefore holds the field.

On the other hand it may be that the solution of this problem is to be found in the structure of the Civil Service to which Professor Laski devotes his next chapter. He is well satisfied with the service, defends it from the accusations of lust for power and has some interesting things to say about its recruitment and organisation. At a recent London meeting of the Institute of Public Administration, a highly placed civil servant complained of an academic lecturer that he was far too sweet to be good for the Service. What the Civil Service required from the student of its work was, above all, pene-

## Reviews

trating constructive criticism. On particular points he will find some such criticism in this book—but certainly not too much.

Some space is devoted to the discussion of the possible effect of the class bias of the Civil Service in the event of a Socialist Government being returned to power.

"Those who govern it belong, effectively, to the same class that rules the House of Commons. Largely they go to the same schools and universities; after admission to the Service, they belong to the same clubs. Their ideas, that is, or rather the assumptions upon which their ideas rest, are the same as those of the men who own the instruments of production in our society. Their success, as a Civil Service, has been mainly built upon that fact."

"It is one thing [however] to put through a policy the assumptions of which you accept. It is a very different thing to put through a policy efficiently the very foundations of which you believe to be disastrous."

Nevertheless, Professor Laski plumps for the present system of recruitment and promotion:—

"the confinement of the highest posts in the departments to men whose training is, in the best sense, humanistic, has, I think, been the salvation of the service."

Three slight variations from the present procedure appeal to him. The first, that less weight be attached to the interview in the selection of successful candidates. The second is recruitment at the post-graduate stage on the basis of an original contribution to the social sciences. The third, special promotion opportunities for junior civil servants who—after recruitment—have distinguished themselves by taking good degrees at a university.

After recruitment Professor Laski argues:

"A Civil Service needs not only the able routineer; it needs also the ardent inventor who can disturb the routine . . . . But there is, from the nature of its construction, an absence of . . . imaginative scepticism . . . [and] passion for constructive innovation."

It is perhaps not unfair that no solution of this problem should be offered—but that it should be left for practising civil servants to assess its significance and find the remedy for the defect.

On the question of civil rights Professor Laski thinks that: "The present rules . . . stringent as they are, seem to . . . represent the necessities of the position," so far as active participation in political activities is concerned. He pleads, however, for "a greater freedom of expression in the written word, article or book."

## *Public Administration*

"So long as a civil servant is contributing generally to the structure of knowledge there is, so far as I can see, no reason why any official ox should tread upon his tongue. Provided that he is reasonably discreet, the contribution his experience can make may be of exceptional value."

This is a more difficult policy to administer than the sweeping negation of all political rights—but difficulty should not discourage the authorities from following it sympathetically.

In one recent innovation, the creation of Public Relations Departments in some of the bigger ministries, Professor Laski is bluntly critical: "My own feeling is strong that this is the wrong kind of development. It has led to efforts to hinder criticism, to the retailing of inspired gossip, to the conversion of what is, in fact, propaganda into what appears to be genuine news, for which there is nothing to be said."

Admittedly the propaganda bug is a dangerous intruder in a government department. But public relations branches are under such close observation that it may be doubted how far they have fallen victims to the disease. Also is not the vital function of the public relations branch of the future likely to be not the interpretation of the department to the public, but the interpretation of the public to the department?

Related to that is the whole problem of the relation of the Civil Service to the public. Professor Laski rejects the conception of a cloistered service and favours the closest relations between the civil servant and the public. Here, perhaps, will be found the solution of some of the unsolved problems to which reference has been made in the course of this review—such as the development in the Service of that imaginative scepticism and passion for constructive innovation which are so much desired.

A. C. STEWART.

## *The British Constitution*

By H. R. G. GREAVES. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1938.) Pp. 296. 7s. 6d.

MANY nineteenth century thinkers seem to have regarded democracy in much the same terms as Plato described the Idea of the Good. The human mind, once it could apprehend the inherent excellence of this form of government, would never depart from it. To-day the devotees of democracy are confronted with a challenge to their principles whose gravity cannot be overlooked. The recrudescence of autocracy demands that we ask the questions: Were our thinkers correct in their assumption that democracy was the best possible form of government? Have we instituted a system that is really democratic?

## Reviews

Mr. Greaves' excellent account of "The British Constitution" provides ample food for thought to those who have these questions at heart. It is not unfair to say that the theorists of democracy paid too much attention to mere procedures and too little to the social milieu in which the procedures were to operate. Democracy is a vague expression, and those who employ it do not always signify whether they are referring to certain institutional arrangements or to an animating spirit, or both. With our tendency to seek short cuts to the millennium, we have too frequently assumed that the establishment of certain institutions would necessarily be accompanied by the adoption of the right frame of mind. It is just at this flaw in the argument that the limitations of democracy stand out most clearly.

The author uses the sociological approach. He states at the opening of his book, "The British Constitution is more than a body of institutions working in accordance with principles laid down in law or expressed in conventions. It is society in its political aspect." Plainly, therefore, his interpretation of the constitution will be determined by his views on the British social system. He is frank in his analysis of our class distinctions. Writing from the standpoint of a Socialist, he observes how the outlook of the vested interests predominates in both Houses of Parliament, in the circles that surround the King, and in the Judiciary. Going further afield he traces the same influence in the Church, the Press and the Armed Forces. He finds "the key to the efficient working of the British Constitution . . . in the strength of the upper middle class." This is "the integrating factor which makes the political mechanism work in a harmonious way, for it fills the chief positions in the Executive, the Legislature, the Judiciary, the administrative services, the Church, the Army, and it controls the Press, finance, and industry." Mr. Greaves is right in insisting that when we study a constitution we must "go behind the machinery" and scrutinise "where the real source of decision most often lies."

Going behind the machinery of the British Constitution we are met with a class-imbued society, which has not yet abolished political and economic privilege. Is it correct to describe such a system as a democracy? Does not the aristocratic interior of the edifice affect our judgment of the democratic façade? When we turn our eyes to another of the great democratic powers, a similar inconsistency awaits us. The United States professes democratic principles and has instituted corresponding machinery. But many observant Americans may be found to query whether these principles and practices are nullified by the power of great industrialists. There is no democracy in the "company town"; nor is there in the deep South. Plutocracy in the United States and aristocracy in Britain prejudice the working

## *Public Administration*

of the democratic process. Democracy, with its ideal of equality, presupposes a homogeneous community. It cannot thrive in an atmosphere of economic, racial or social cleavage.

The author's severest criticisms are directed against the House of Lords. He sees no justification for this anachronistic second chamber whose legislative record he heartily condemns. It seems indeed as if this portion of the constitutional structure were especially designed to favour permanently one political party at the expense of others. In a period when most legislation of consequence originates in the administrative departments, the House of Commons is itself a second chamber to all intents and purposes, and no other is needed. Perhaps the principal advantage of the Upper House is to provide for elder statesmen a niche which is not a burial niche alone. The Monarchy is treated more favourably, although Mr. Greaves criticises the bias of the Crown towards the Conservative Party. The King's political inclinations are, of course, the natural accompaniment of his position at the apex of a social hierarchy. If a remedy is to be sought, one must strike at the cause. The book sets up the more truly democratic monarchies of Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Norway and Sweden as models to emulate. It would indeed be a pity if the great usefulness of the King as a symbol of national unity and continuity should be marred by too close an attachment to one segment in the community.

In discussing the House of Commons, Mr. Greaves rightly emphasises the increasing dominance of the Cabinet and the diminishing independence of the private member. The power of the Prime Minister to force a dissolution and make each individual contest his seat is more effective in the last reckoning than the power of the members collectively to overthrow the Government. Hence revolt among the back-benchers is likely to be a rarity in the future. Since it is now generally agreed that the King must accede to a Prime Minister's request to dissolve Parliament, the Cabinet has the whip hand. It is this factor, perhaps more than any other, which has strengthened the party machine. Although one recognises the need for a certain amount of party and parliamentary discipline, it is time to reflect on the dangers of pushing this to excess.

Analysing the personnel of the judiciary and the administrative class of the Civil Service, Mr. Greaves points out that in each case the preliminary training is so expensive as to keep out those who are talented but poor. Despite certain exceptions the observation is just. It applies also to the Church and the Armed Forces whose higher positions are mostly filled from the section of the community which can afford a costly education. In the last resort, the career open to talent has not yet been fully realised in Britain. Although the scholarship system has done something to break down the barriers

## Reviews

of privilege, all fair-minded persons would agree that the clever son of poor parents does not start with the same chance as his richer intellectual inferior. The key to a democratisation of the political system and the professions lies ultimately in democratising education. In essence, therefore, this account of the British Constitution is a description of the British class system in its political manifestations.

LESLIE LIPSON.

### Nineteenth Annual Report of the Ministry of Health, 1937-38

Cmd. 5801. Pp. 318. (Stationery Office.) 5s. (postage extra).

THIS year's report opens with a preface by the Minister in which he compares conditions of to-day with those of the 1830s. It were well if more of this kind of thing were done in official reports. Present conditions and events can be seen in right perspective only against the background of the past, and, relatively, only a handful know much of the latter. We are singularly neglectful, too, of the lessons of the past. Our predecessors had to struggle through troubles and difficulties as testing and as anxious as our own, many of them, also, very much like our own, but their hard experiences might almost have been endured in vain for all the instruction which we attempt to draw from them.

The Minister's preface is, however, not aimed at any didactic purpose but to bring home the great progress which has been effected—not, however, in any spirit of complacency but as a stimulus for further advance. It is interesting and well done. He reminds us that “there was in 1837 no comprehensive general Act relating to public health . . . no general recognition that health and sanitation were matters requiring public attention. . . . The houses being erected lacked not merely . . . drainage, baths, proper water supply and gardens but also light and air. Paving, sewerage and scavenging . . . were then to be found in some places only. . . .”; he might have added at very few places and even there usually very badly provided. “In 1838 . . . the general death rate was 22.4 per thousand”; to-day, 12 per thousand: the tuberculosis death rate, 4,480 per million compared with the present under 700: smallpox, over 1,000 per million; last year, none: infantile death rate, 159 per 1,000 live births; 1937, 58. “In 1837 the average age at death was 20 years in Manchester and 17 in Liverpool.” We have indeed advanced, even though all the advance is by no means sheer gain.

The housing progress which is reported is striking. From 1919 to the end of March, 1938, over 3½ million new dwellings were erected in England and Wales, of which some 2½ millions had been provided



## *Public Administration*

by private enterprise (a small proportion with subsidy) and some one million by Local Authorities. About one in every three persons is living in a post-war house. "Since the inception in 1933 of the five-year programme for the clearance of the slums more than 800,000 people had been removed from slum houses into new houses." Indeed, it may well be that we are going too fast, odd as this suggestion may seem, and that we would do well to give more thought to some of the bigger issues which are involved, even at the cost of moving a little less rapidly in clearing away existing evils, for in our haste we may be laying up problems for the future. Just to give one instance, planning is by no means keeping pace with housing. The chapter on planning records notable progress, but not in the planning of built areas. There are very big issues involved in the latter, but little thought being given to them. Their solution is urgent, for present policy and still more for future measures. We are just drifting along, aware of the problems but trying to ignore them because of their difficulty. That is not the way of statesmanship.

The finance of Local Authorities continues the trend of recent years. Of the total of nearly £300 million received from rates and Government grants, between 44 and 45 per cent. came from the latter: in 1913 the percentage was 24. The percentage figures, however, are for the country as a whole. It differs for the several areas; and one county received over 75 per cent. (this for all its authorities), and one county borough nearly 57 per cent. It is noteworthy that, despite the much that is heard (and quite rightly) of the "block grant," of the total grants of all kinds of over £135 million, only £45 million was in the block grant, with £86 million of the remaining £90 million in specific grants.

I have left mention until the last of what is in some respects the most significant part of the report, though this does not appear for the first time—the emphasis in the opening chapter on the measures taken for publicity. It is typical of the changed attitude of Ministers and Government Departments in recent years, though it was an attitude which prevailed for a short time after the war, a sort of aftermath of the propaganda of the war years. The vigour with which publicity is now being pushed would shock the old-timers—by posters and leaflets and addresses, by exhibitions, visits and, not least, films. "The Minister is particularly glad to note that a number of Local Authorities have recently been making films (including colour films) about their own health services. He feels sure that much fuller use can be made of the film as a medium for health education and he trusts that Local Authorities will not hesitate to make appropriations for this purpose and for health education generally." If Local Authorities press forward with films, really good films, and induce local pro-

## Reviews

prietors of cinemas to exhibit them, they may, incidentally, even do something towards rescuing the film world from the fog of incredible inanity which hangs so heavily on what passes for entertainment!

For the present, all this publicity is salesmanship, an endeavour to sell the health services and the measures for fitness to John and Mary Citizen and their children. If the habit of publicity gets deep underneath the skin of public authorities, it may pass beyond salesmanship of services and be extended, despite the difficulties, to that which is so much lacking, and so essential for the political health of a democratic community—a truer understanding of citizenship, a better knowledge of the problems of government and administration and a wider spread throughout the community of the sense of practical affairs.

As usual, the report is full of information and is indispensable for those who wish to know of developments in local government and in social services.

I. GWILYM GIBBON.

### G.P.O.

E. T. CRUTCHLEY, C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E. (Cambridge University Press.)  
7s. 6d.

SOME time ago I wrote a high official at the Post Office suggesting that to mark the centenary of Penny Postage in 1940, the Department should produce a really authoritative history of the Post Office. I pointed out that Joyce finished his story with 1836, Lewin and Hyde were neither good nor always accurate and Norway dealt with only one small though interesting corner, the Packet Service, while Murray was primarily for the student. I was told that General Crutchley had the matter already in hand, but if "G.P.O." is the result there is one deeply disappointed reader. I doubt whether the author intended this book to be anything else than a plain, straightforward account of the many activities of the department of to-day and, although it contains some historical matter, for it is humanly impossible to write about the Post Office without dragging in Rowland Hill, it is in the main just a well-written plain description of the Post Office of 1938. Referring to Rowland Hill I dissent from the view that Hill diagnosed public feeling wrongly in the matter of the Mulready envelope. The trouble was that Mulready produced a pompous and sentimental design which lent itself easily to caricature and the envelope was just laughed to death. Neither can I agree that postal reform started in Bath just because Bath was Bath. True, Allen and Palmer both lived in that famous watering-place, but each was too big a man to be much, if at all, influenced by purely local interests and the chapter headed "From Jeremiah to James II," which the irreverent will style "From Jerry to Jimmy,"

## *Public Administration*

is a little unkind to poor old Cyrus, who has a good claim to be an early postal reformer. I frankly dislike the title (G.P.O.) though I know the difficulty of finding a good one for a Post Office book. Tombs, many years ago, with his "The King's Post," stole the best title I have seen and, incidentally, in doing so, wrote almost the only good line in his book, but "G.P.O." conveys to the man in the street, the head office in his town and to the Post Office man, St. Martin's-le-Grand. And nothing else.

Then there are too many illustrations. They are well produced, as one would expect from the publishers, and the single page pictures are most attractive, but two on a comparatively small page are too many and give an appearance of clutter.

After a page or so of general introduction, in which there is the frank admission that the Postmaster-General is a tax gatherer, we get a good description of the work at the Manchester Head Office and the author laments that people who write to Manchester rarely put the numbers of the districts on their letters. If my correspondence is of any value in the matter, the fault lies with Manchester, for the people there rarely type or write the numbers on their letter-heads and the Post Office might try the effect of a little publicity on the subject in that city itself. Manchester is a distinctly happy choice, for huge as it is, it can be described, which is more than can be said for London, not only because of its size but the scattered nature of its Post Office work. It is not necessary to recite the marvellous figures of the work and staff in Manchester, but General Crutchley notes that a hundred and fifty years ago the whole Post Office work there was done by a postmistress, her daughter and two postmen. Joyce says one letter carrier, but the point is a small one. More interesting is the fact that the postmistress, in 1792, imposed a late letter fee on her own and got into trouble over it.

Then we are switched over by way of contrast to the pretty little Yorkshire town of Helmsley, where eight or nine people do all the work there is, but Helmsley is just Manchester in little. Rich and poor alike come to it, just as in the larger town: for the Post Office, like death, is no respecter of persons.

A couple of historical chapters bring us quickly from the Persians to the Popes, thence to Henry VIII and Brian Tuke, onward to Rowland Hill. There is mention of the establishment of the monopoly by Elizabeth, the private Overseas Post and the design by Cromwell, in 1657, to appoint a Postmaster-General, which was never carried into effect owing to the restoration of Charles II.

Arlington was appointed as P.M.G. in 1667, but he was really a farmer or contractor, and, to make his profit, cut down salaries and

## Reviews

wages by 30 or 40 per cent., so it is not surprising to read that he had a discontented and not too efficient staff. There is a brief notice of Dockwra's famous London Penny Post in 1680, the like of which is never likely to be seen again as, for a penny, he provided ten or twelve deliveries a day, carried anything up to a pound in weight and provided an insurance up to ten pounds. His reward was confiscation of his post and to be cast in damages.

Marlborough's campaigns and the effect of the Napoleonic wars on postal charges are touched upon and a little more fully the cross posts of Allen, and the mail coach service of Palmer, the latter encountering fierce opposition from the Post Office, but luckily getting the ear of Pitt. So we pass on to Rowland Hill. His struggles are briefly described and a well deserved tribute paid to Wallace, his parliamentary coadjutor. The mere list of Hill's achievements is astounding: Penny postage, the introduction of stamps, of registration, of letter boxes and the book post. The reform of the Money Order system and the Rural Posts system and the opening of Post Office Savings Banks all came about in Hill's time, to which may be added that after his retirement he took an active interest in the acquisition of the telegraphs by the State.

The later chapters deal with the services of to-day. The horse box fitted up as a travelling Post Office, in 1838, has become the special Post Office train which carries nothing but mail, and its only passengers are Post Office servants. The air service, the mobile Post Office for use at race meetings and the unique Post Office railway in London, which carries 30,000 bags of mail a day are all described, as is the express post, which we are told can be used for the conveyance of live animals, the term including man or woman, and there is a piece of information which I pass on to whom it may concern. Live things cannot be sent by ordinary parcel post unless they are bees, leeches and silkworms, but I can say from my own knowledge, that other live things have been both sent and delivered.

As to the training schools which have been set up, everyone will agree with the author that they have made great improvements at the public counter. Post Office servants do not like to be told so but at many counters manners used to be deplorable.

In the early part of the War, I did a great deal of recruiting work for the War Office and was always introduced as from the Post Office. It was a common experience to be asked by prominent people to do something about the rudeness at the public counter, and I used to promise to do so, for there was no point in telling the good people that I was a poor trade union secretary and that the Post Office would take no notice of me, while my own members would

## Public Administration

abuse me. Of late years there has been a great improvement and it is doubtless due to better training.

Naturally, we read about Christmas and equally naturally get the departmental complaint that the public will not post early, but in this matter, the Public Relations Officer has not got his ear as close to the ground as might be. The public says the Post Office makes 11 or 12 millions a year profit and, heaven knows, there are plenty of unemployed, so employ more men. Now, there is, of course, a limit to the number of men who can usefully be employed, but the Post Office will have to make a better case than it ever has done to convince the public that it has reached the limit. I confess my sympathies are with the public and the fact that there is usually no parcel post on Boxing Day, with the result that thousands of perishable parcels may be spoiled, is a piece of departmental economy which cannot be justified, especially as so many of the parcels are for poor people.

I have left myself little space to deal with a whole lot of interesting things, the Engineering Section, with its fascinating picture of a linesman at work, the tremendous advance in mechanisation of which there was practically none when I entered the Service in 1890. and the care taken with regard to uniform. General Crutchley quotes Mr. Jingle as remarking about a postman's coat: "All the short men get long coats—all the long men short ones." That was in 1836, but it was much the same sixty years later and it was an amusing cartoon of "fitting day" in the *Postman's Gazette* which helped the cause of reform.

Organisation and control makes an interesting chapter as does the telegraphs, and I note that the author is aware of the old semaphore telegraph. The Post Office was not always so well instructed. When Van Noorden projected his "Topical Pickwick," he came across an allusion to the telegraph, and as the electric telegraph was not introduced into this country until some years after Pickwick, he was puzzled and went to the Post Office to enquire the meaning of the allusion. No one could tell him and it is pleasant to see that the Department is better informed to-day.

Well, I sat down to review this book with a feeling of disappointment but have found it interesting and I rise with a feeling of hope that it is only the preface to that authoritative history, which only the Post Office can write and which ought to be written.

G. H. STUART-BUNNING.

### The People's Food

By SIR WILLIAM CRAWFORD, K.B.E., and H. BROADLEY. Pp. xiii + 336.  
(London: Heinemann.) 12s. 6d.

In the introduction to this book, Sir William Crawford frankly admits

## Reviews

that the work it represents was undertaken primarily with the object of advising the business world of coming changes in food consumption. As a distinguished leader of the advertising profession he recognises that his business depends almost entirely on his ability to tell manufacturers and others where, what and how to advertise, and "The People's Food" is accordingly designed to give such a lead to the food industry. The book, however, has a much wider significance which will appeal to all who are concerned with the well-being of the people.

During the six months ended March, 1937 (with the exception of a week on either side of Christmas), 5,000 housewives were interviewed, of whom 2,000 were in London and 500 each in Birmingham, Leeds, Glasgow, Newcastle, Liverpool and Cardiff. The households in each town were selected partly by reason of the five social classes into which they are placed. The data collected included the constitution of the family, the family income, the amount and cost of the food purchased, the time and content of the daily meals, methods of purchase, home cooking and other facts relating to the use and preservation of food in the home. With regard to the food budget, "the previous week" was taken as the basis of the enquiry and for food consumption habits, "the previous day."

This material is presented and discussed in 20 chapters which, although they are not arranged as such, broadly fall into three categories. Firstly, the various meals of the day are considered, the British breakfast, the mid-day meal, tea and high tea, and the evening meal having a chapter each. The food and drink consumed at every meal are shown in detail for each of the five social classes so that a ready picture is provided of the rich and the poor at their table. It appears that of the richest families 58 per cent. have marmalade at breakfast and 43 per cent. drink coffee; only 5 per cent. of the poorest have marmalade and 1 per cent. take coffee. The peak hour for breakfast is from 8-8.30 for all except the richest class, a slight majority of whom prefer 8.30-9. Similar details are given for the mid-day meal, tea and high tea and for the evening meal, in respect of which the distinction between "dinner" and "supper" is shown to be nicely adjusted according to social class.

The second way in which the data has been analysed and presented is found in the chapters which deal with specific foodstuffs. Bread, meat, eggs and cooking fats, fish, milk and its allies, vegetables, fruit, sugar and beverages are each separately considered for weekly expenditure and quantities. It is to be commended that the averages are calculated on a "per caput" basis without regard to the age and sex of the population involved. Meticulous accuracy in this respect would require a different "man-value" scale for



## *Public Administration*

each foodstuff, and such scales, in fact, do not exist. To apply a "calorie" scale to milk consumption, for example, would be useless since the age and sex requirements for milk are a complete inversion of the individuals' calorie needs. For each of the foods mentioned above, the average amount spent and the quantity purchased are shown by social classes and, within each social class, by income. The diagrams illustrating the figures clearly show food expenditure against weekly income, and emphasise the effect of purchasing power on food consumption. It is not for every food that consumption per head increases with income per head. The consumption of margarine and condensed milk not unexpectedly falls as purchasing power rises and there is a distinct fall in the "per caput" consumption of breakfast cereals in the richest class. The amounts consumed of fresh milk and vegetables distinctly increase with income but much more of these protective foodstuffs should be taken in all classes, particularly the poorest. Some foods, such as cheese and potatoes, appear to be consumed in more or less equal quantities by all, irrespective of income.

These two groups of chapters, the one describing the family's meals and the other discussing the consumption of specific foodstuffs, are those that will be of more immediate interest to Sir William Crawford's clients in so far as they indicate when, where and how much of the nation's food is eaten. The third group of chapters which discuss the nutritional and economic implications of the nation's food consumption are of much wider interest and should be the concern of all who look for information with regard to the sufficiency of the national diet. In particular, Chapter XI, "Food Expenditure and Income," and Chapter XII, "Food Consumption and Nutritional Adequacy," are important in this respect. The "per caput" expenditure on food in the lowest social group (5s. 10d. per week) was 46.6 per cent. of "per caput" income; in the highest social class with an expenditure on food of 18s. 9d. per head per week, the proportion was 11.75 per cent. These figures of food expenditure are compared with the "per caput" cost of the minimum diets prescribed by the British Medical Association, which, adjusted for price change, is 5s. 10d. It may be mentioned, however, that the milk in the B.M.A. diets is much below the quantities now considered necessary, and to make further adjustment for this particular item would appreciably raise this estimated cost. No less than 48 per cent. of the families in the lowest social class and 17 per cent. of the families in the next highest class were found to be spending less than the 5s. 10d. required for the B.M.A. minimum standard. Applying these proportions to the population as a whole (which can only be done with considerable caution) it appears that over

## Reviews

7,800,000 persons are living in homes where the "per caput" weekly expenditure on food is below the B.M.A. minimum. Similar estimates of food expenditure and income are also worked out on a "man-value" basis, for the purposes of which a scale somewhat more comprehensive than one based on calorie co-efficients alone has been adopted.

The data collected on food consumption are analysed for nutritional content, and, again, the contrast between the two extreme social classes is vivid. In the lowest class the daily calorie intake is 2,335 per head; at the other end of the scale it is 3,536. Similarly, for protein the range is from 64 grams per head per day to 103. For each of the important nutrients an estimate has been made of the numbers of the population who fall short of the "standard requirements." It is especially in the minerals and vitamins that deficiency is found.

The last two chapters in the book are devoted to the lessons of the past and the outlook for the future. A strong plea is made for a higher standard of nutrition and to achieve this it is recommended that a Food Research Institute should be established. This book itself indicates many problems for such an Institute to tackle and the wide variety of urgent questions that demand attention fully justifies an organisation to deal with food in its many aspects.

In the last lines of the book it is written that whereas the outstanding social advances relating to health in the nineteenth century were in the field of sanitation, the comparable advance of the present century must be made on the nutrition front. The authors of "The People's Food" are to be congratulated on the important share they have taken in the fight for a higher standard of nutrition for the many people whose food consumption is far too low.

R. F. GEORGE.

### Women Servants of the State

*Women Servants of the State.* By HILDA MARTINDALE. 218 pp. (George Allen and Unwin.) 7s. 6d. net.

It must have been difficult for an able woman, with inside experience of the Civil Service and after such an exhaustive research (covering a period of 70 years) as has evidently preceded the making of this book, to write with the detachment and moderation, the philosophical optimism, which Miss Martindale has achieved.

She takes us through the early days, when the official recommendation of the employment of women was, frankly, that they were cheap and indisposed to combine for better rates, when Post Office clerkships were "utilised largely for the relief of women of the upper and middle classes" (a pretty low scale of poor relief); through a

## *Public Administration*

later period (1888) when the "typewriting women"—otherwise designated "female typewriters"—were recommended because "they are cheap and there is no superannuation," and a still later date (1894) when the appointment of a woman inspector of prisons, recommended by a departmental committee, was turned down by the Prison Commissioners on the ground that if "ladies were admitted to a larger degree to the work of visiting committees and aid societies," the object aimed at would be attained without cost to the State; down to that April day in 1936 when the Government jockeyed the House into reversing its vote for equal pay for men and women in the Treasury classes; and the record is one long history of exploiting women.

It is a record, too, of women's submission to exploitation because of their dogged determination to gain and to consolidate their foothold in all possible spheres of employment. In eulogy of one remarkable pioneer, Miss M. C. Smith (at 22 a superintendent of women!) the author writes that she "never refused new opportunities for women. She felt assured they could master whatever was offered them and in this way planned for the future."

It was an uphill fight. The men in possession were largely hostile. We read of "vigorous protest of the Controller," and a contemplated indignation meeting by the "gentlemen [*sic*] in the office," of an "unpopular innovation" and an "unfriendly atmosphere." "Many of the officials could not endure the appointment" of a woman inspector of Poor Law children! Miss Martindale comments rather naively: "In the light of to-day it is somewhat surprising that it should have been unendurable to the men civil servants . . ." Is it?—when we recall the very recent protest by male staff against aggregation? "The men inspectors were opposed to the appointment of women . . . They did not want the women's point of view." In this connection we have one of the infrequent comments appended by the author to the facts she has so skilfully marshalled: "Men civil servants have never had to meet this peculiar obstacle which women have always had to face. That, in spite of it, women have accomplished much speaks well for their tenacity, forbearance and perhaps also for their sense of humour." And again: "It is the man who is second-class at his work who opposes the entry of women into his province." Sir Samuel Hoare is quoted as referring in 1919 to "a solid opposition against the entrance of women in any large numbers." In a Report of 1915 cited, there is reference to prejudice against women's employment which "often biases and distorts the judgment"; and it is refreshing to turn to a passage from the Tomlin Commission Report which affirmed that "the prejudice,

## Reviews

if it exists, can only be combated by giving women the opportunity of overcoming it."

Many instances appear in the book of how this hostility and prejudice affected policy: a persistent reluctance to appoint a woman, a long gap before replacing one, a grudging circumscription of the sphere in which women were permitted to work. This last was a serious matter. "The women inspectors were not gaining the experience which would allow them in time to become district inspectors." It was urged that they should be "engaged solely as subordinate assistants to the men inspectors, never to be called on to discharge the higher duties of the office." The woman was "precluded from gaining the experience which would make it possible for her to undertake the work in all its aspects and so prove that her special characteristics were of value. Her prospects of promotion were consequently confined within a limited range, and she was kept off the general seniority lists which lead to the highest controlling posts in the Service."

But there is the other side of the picture. Despite all opposition the women definitely and consistently made good, and official appreciation was not lacking. It is noticeable that the *higher* official opinion—particularly in the Home Office—was opposed to this policy of cramping restriction, and the names of Morant, Delevigne and Bellhouse stand out as those of men firmly believing in giving women full opportunity.

On pay and superannuation, there is a whole chapter, containing a timely reminder that so long ago as 1915 those signing the Reservations to the Majority Report of the Royal Commission were pointing out that "efficiency depends in part upon the food, housing, recreation, etc., made possible by the salary paid; hence no fair inference as to the relative efficiency of men and women could be drawn from the work of existing women clerks, who were paid much less than male clerks."

Miss Martindale, who shows herself, for the most part, a champion of women's emancipation from differential restrictions, seems, nevertheless, to favour a highly undesirable method of attempting to resolve the marriage bar controversy, *viz.*, to remove the bar for all higher grades while retaining it for the lower. "By this course," she writes, "women themselves would have settled a matter on which their opinion is peculiarly opportune." But, it may well be objected, why "settle" the fate of all future entrants to the lower grades by the arbitrary choice of the present members, swayed, admittedly, by a desire to quicken promotion?

One of the best chapters is the last one, entitled "Future Opportunities of Service," and dealing with the present exclusion of

## Public Administration

women from overseas service. The arguments *pro* and *con* are fairly stated, but their very juxtaposition shows up overwhelmingly the stark prejudice which is the real obstacle to be overcome. The author leaves us in no doubt where her own view lies, and this makes the slip on page 109 (where she speaks of "women's inability for service overseas") a curious one.

The references to the assimilation of grades that followed the post-War reorganisation of the Service fail to bring out clearly the injustice suffered by the women clerks by wholesale down-grading. "A very good class of second-division clerks' work" is a description of the women clerks' work quoted with approval, but assimilation placed these women in the grade below that assigned to the second-division men.

The paragraph (on page 111) dealing with the Clerical Assistant grade suggests that the author approves both the retention of the marriage bar and the unfair restriction of the routine work of the Service to women. But surely she cannot really mean this? It would be at variance with the whole tenor of the book. Further, it is very doubtful whether the C.A. of to-day would concur in the statement that "every year it has been found possible to promote a fair number to the clerical grade."

There is a useful bibliography. But the index is poor: 21 page-references without specification under the heading "Remuneration of Women," 27 under "Tomlin Commission," do not make for easy research.

To sum up: The main impression left on the reader is of a really valuable survey of an important sphere of women's work, buttressed by copious reference to contemporary documents but never overloaded by quotation, a lively record unfolding the story of a steady advance whose end is not yet.

E. M. WHITE.

## The Voluntary Citizen

By CONSTANCE BRAITHWAITE. Pp. 342. (Methuen & Co., Ltd.) 7s. 6d.

THIS excellent and exhaustive study of the distinctive features of our voluntary social services should be in the hands of every student of the social sciences.

It is divided into three parts, described by the author as (1) An essay in social philosophy; (2) An attempt to assess the financial importance of charity by supplying information on the income of all organised charities; (3) A detailed study of one particular voluntary organisation, viz., district nursing, and it is obvious that the first section provides the widest scope for thought and discussion. In

## Reviews

fact, it covers such an extensive field that it is not possible in a short review even to give an indication of the many aspects of voluntary service with which it deals.

The author examines with great care the relative value to the community of voluntary and statutory services in the two spheres of the relief of poverty and the health services, and arrives at the general conclusion that once a particular form of service is approved by the majority of citizens the State should assume financial responsibility. Most people will agree with her in classifying as suitable for voluntary organisation supplementary, experimental, controversial and international services, but more debatable is the chapter on "Philanthropy and Socialism." Not everyone would agree with her definition of socialism nor with her suggestion that philanthropy would find fuller scope in a socialist society than it does to-day. Also it is difficult to envisage from the practical point of view, charitable organisations acting as "interpreters to their applicants of the social service activities of public authorities and, from the other side," interpreting "the desires and needs of their applicants and their supporters to public authorities." Experience shows that the best type of applicant prefers to go direct to the fountain head for assistance, and that the expert likes to form his conclusions from first-hand information.

An unusual but very sound point of view is expressed in the chapter on voluntary personal service as an education in citizenship. It is too true that in the highly complex civilisation of to-day the average citizen's personal experience of other people's lives is very limited. Although it is possible to read about any and every condition of life it is much more difficult than it would be in a more simply organised community to envisage the intimate effects of such conditions outside one's own limited environment. For this reason a voluntary service which brings a person into contact with a side of life hitherto unknown is an invaluable and much-needed education to the ordinary citizen.

Section II of the book gives a detailed analysis of the income of charities in England and Wales for the years 1908-1927, well-supported by such statistics as are available. The author is here breaking new ground, and was much handicapped by lack of information regarding the income and expenditure of many charitable organisations. Contrary to general belief the income of charities has increased rather than decreased over this period, any change being in the source from which the income is drawn. Charitable organisations now receive a greater proportion of the total cost of services rendered from persons benefiting from those services.

The last section of the book is a detailed study of the organisation and problems of district nursing associations in England and Wales.



## Public Administration

and although the author ably explains her choice of this particular type of charity to illustrate her views, it might have been of greater interest to the general reader had she chosen an organisation in which the actual work was done by the voluntary citizen rather than one in which the voluntary effort lies in the administration of the work of the expert.

The book is well indexed and should be a valuable addition to the library of all those interested in the development of our social services.

D. SMYTH.

## Survey of the Modern City.

"Urban Sociology." By EARL E. MUNTZ, Ph.D. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.) 16s.

"THE last three generations have witnessed a vast increase in the size and number of large cities. Life is more exciting and more money can be earned in the cities than in villages and small towns. Hence the migration from country to city . . . . Why is it so hard to induce peasants and small farmers to adopt new scientific methods? Among other reasons, because almost every exceptionally intelligent child born into a rural family for a century past has taken the earliest opportunity of deserting the land for the city. Community life in the country is thus impoverished; but (and this is the important point) the community life of the great urban centres is not correspondingly enriched. It is not enriched for the good reason that, in growing enormous, cities have also grown chaotic."

Aldous Huxley in *Ends and Means*.

If I were called upon to select a book which might be placed under the foundation stone of some public building so that the people of A.D. 3000 might look backwards through the centuries and obtain a record of the life, customs and conditions prevalent in the American city of to-day, I should have no hesitation in choosing *Urban Sociology*. Like many Americans, Dr. Muntz has a passion for facts—a passion which the vast field of research he covers in this book gives him ample opportunity to gratify. He examines, in great detail and with commendable exactitude, the new code of customs which has arisen in response to the highly artificialised environment of modern urban society, and describes some of the major adjustments to urban life, as evidenced particularly, but not exclusively, in the American city, such as the realignment of rights, duties and personal freedom in the city environment and the communal responsibility for housing, health, education and recreation.

In his account of the evolution of the modern city, Dr. Muntz deals with the location of cities, their ground plan and physical

## Reviews

growth, the economic effects of rural migration, the problems of immigration and generally with city planning and zoning. He proceeds to a comprehensive study of the housing problem, which, while being principally devoted to housing in America, has also a section on garden suburbs, villages and cities, in which every major experiment of the kind is noted, from Port Sunlight, Bournville, Letchworth and Welwyn to Mariemont and Greenbelt.

In the third section of his book he deals with every aspect of Public Health and Safety, comparing the police systems of America, England, France and Germany, describing the health work of the federal government and the departments of health of various states, public water supplies, the various methods of refuse and sewage disposal, sanitary inspection, hospitals, food and drug inspection and the administration of school health work. The last two sections of the book are devoted to an equally detailed account of education in the modern city and of urban recreation.

Regarded purely as a factual survey, *Urban Sociology* is a most useful and valuable book. To this reviewer it does appear, however, that Dr. Muntz is so obsessed by marshalling his facts, so eager to cover every inch of his vast canvas, that he has insufficient time to enunciate principles, and (except in a very few instances, such as his admirable indictment against proprietary medicines) to criticise the many aspects of urban life which he describes with such painstaking care. In *Metropolitan Man*, a book which, in spite of its much smaller range, is in some respects comparable with *Urban Sociology*, Mr. Robert Sinclair can find nothing good in the planning and administration of Greater London: Dr. Muntz apparently sees little in the American city which merits criticism. I wish that these two authors could be shaken up in a bag together and that Mr. Sinclair could pass on to Dr. Muntz a little of his superfluous *sæva indignatio*.

One instance of Dr. Muntz's somewhat complacent attitude towards things as they are, is to be found in his account of the educational influence of the newspaper. After stating that some newspapers appeal to the more literate, the more reasonable and more comfortable classes of society, and others to "the ignorant, the moronic and the privileged," he quotes Mr. William Allen White: "What are we going to do about them . . . these literate millions who make the intellectual underworld? . . . They are the dumb, brash, noisy, opinionated hillbillies of our cities, and country towns and rural communities, led by the smart ones with highly developed instincts for money or power for anti-social leadership. They are here, these feckless followers of humbugs." This class of community must have diversions and amusements and they get this, remarks Dr. Muntz blandly, "to suit their taste in sensation-mongering news-

## *Public Administration*

papers classified by the intellectual classes as yellow journals or tabloids." The author is equally complacent with regard to the commercialised system of radio in the United States. He contrasts this favourably with the use of the radio in Germany, Italy and Russia for prejudiced, one-sided propaganda and nationalistic "education." He does not, however, compare the American system with the B.B.C.; and, with all its faults, broadcasting in this country is, I think, infinitely superior to its American counterpart.

But for his scholarship and for the versatility which he displays in dealing with an infinite variety of subjects, I have nothing but a feeling of admiration, mixed with awe. Whether he is analysing the causes for the migration from country to city, or describing the water supply in mediæval cities, or dealing with technical subjects such as the different methods of sewage disposal, he writes with expert knowledge and precision. A similar spirit of catholic curiosity appears throughout the whole of the book. From the broadest aspects of housing, public health and educational policy, the economic lure of the city, the negro problem, or the social significance of the radio, Dr. Muntz can direct his attention to describing, with an almost photographic precision, night clubs, road houses and "taxi dance halls" and other features of urban life.

The bibliographies which are to be found at the end of each chapter form a useful adjunct to the book. I have not counted the documents included in these bibliographies, but I have made a rough calculation that over six hundred books and reports are included in them. This formidable list affords evidence in itself of the tremendous range of Dr. Muntz's researches. To have succeeded, as he has, in welding together so many disparate subjects into a congruent and interesting whole, is an achievement which merits the highest commendation. Dr. Muntz's book should be of the greatest value, not only to students, but to civil servants and elected members and officers of local authorities—to all, in fact, who are interested in the complicated system of relationships which contribute to our present urban civilisation.

C. KENT WRIGHT.

### **City Government : The Johannesburg Experiment**

By JOHN P. R. MAUD, Fellow of the University College, Oxford (Clarendon Press, Oxford.) 21s.

THIS book is an inquiry into some of the fundamental problems of modern city government and is based primarily on a study of experiments in local administration made in the city of Johannesburg during fifty years of municipal development. Apart from his academic qualifications the author writes with six years' experience

## Reviews

as a member of the Town Council of Oxford as a background for his survey, which is the result of an invitation from the City Council of Johannesburg to review their activities over half a century of progress and to relate their municipal experience to the problems of city government in other parts of the world.

Mr. Maud describes the content of the first chapter as "the art of city government." He might well have termed his whole book a romantic history of the development of government in that far distant land of South Africa, for his account is permeated with flashes of history and the clash of human interests as the community emerged from those primitive conditions when the main concern of its rulers lay in prohibitions to those more recent times when many new wants began to be felt to satisfy the deeper instincts of the citizens for music, art and learning.

In his work of ascertaining and collating facts the author had the advantage of the collaboration of many persons actually engaged in public administration in South Africa and others in this country who have made that field their special study. To the research student, therefore, the book is none the less useful in its authoritative and painstaking documentation. To this type of reader, in particular, the fascinating charts of the organisation of municipal departments in Johannesburg and the carefully compiled tables of statistics will be of especial value.

It is a refreshing and illuminating touch to those of us engaged in more mundane tasks of administration to find in the diagram devoted to the public health departments the humble ratcatchers and the youths who assist them, together with their dogs, included in the establishment!

Mr. Maud's account clearly shows how the difficulties which faced the early governors of Johannesburg were accentuated by the heterogeneous nature of the population, each section with different tastes and interests and a standard of life peculiarly its own. The reconciliation of urban and rural interests was no less troublesome. The South African War at the turn of the century divides the history of municipal government in Johannesburg into two distinct phases. Before 1900 communal services rested largely in the hands of private companies working under concessions. Local government as we know it was absent, and central control of public order and affairs was general throughout the land. After that date there came a striking contrast with the inception of a self-governing authority established on British lines. This study of municipal development affords material, therefore, for valuable comparison of radically opposing systems of government. In the second phase Johannesburg has been facing most of the difficulties which characterise city govern-

## *Public Administration*

ment in this country to-day, and her experience is, therefore, of particular value at a moment when the thoughts of all engaged in public administration are anxiously wondering whether the existing machinery is likely to withstand the shocks of our times.

No fewer than four chapters are devoted to the historical growth of the city, and a fascinating record they make. In its origin Johannesburg was a direct result of the Great Trek of the Boer farmers into the interior following upon expansion of British power in the Cape Colony and its growing interference in their daily lives. The relations of the South African Republic, which was then formed, to the British, the discovery of diamonds and gold, and the formation of townships all follow in a narrative of absorbing interest. It is with mingled feelings of pride and regret that one reads of the epic struggles of that time and the mistakes, misunderstandings and hatreds engendered between two sections of the white people which have not yet been fully lived down.

The author then proceeds to deal with twentieth century developments in regard to provincial government in South Africa and its relations to central government and the repercussions of this on municipal affairs in Johannesburg and elsewhere. Under these influences local party politics began to emerge and the municipality became more and more affected by ordinances from the central power, one striking instance being an occasion when it was threatened to dispense with the Municipal Council altogether, a matter which has a familiar ring when we recall certain governmental measures in our recent national crisis which were happily not required to be put into force, but which have aroused suspicion and hostility in the minds of certain local government bodies. In many of the illustrations of the relation of municipal authority to the provincial legislature there are instances of a flexibility of administration unknown in this country. In the course of its relations with national government, control of policy has now passed to the municipality.

The author deals thereafter with the achievements and shortcomings of municipal government in regard to each of the major services. A subject of topical interest to administrators is the chapter devoted to the scope and method of city government, where Mr. Maud alludes to the condition of local government in that part of the north-east of England known as Tyneside as a terrible picture of what the local government of Johannesburg might easily have become had not its municipal area been wisely extended in 1902. Incidentally, he deplores the multiplicity of local authorities in Tyneside and the failure to adjust the local government structure of that region to the changing needs of a community. He draws some useful lessons from

## Reviews

the neglect of Johannesburg councillors to seize unique opportunities open to them for proper town planning. Under methods of city government there is contrasted the relatively simple unified form of control in Johannesburg with the two main alternative methods of local government existing in other parts of the world, the first consisting of a number of unrelated governing bodies each concerned with a particular service, and the second based on the federal idea of separate organisations performing various functions of local government in subdivisions of the area, and one body for other complementary purposes with jurisdiction over the whole. In his illustrations the author draws chiefly from English, American, German, and Russian sources. The detailed activities of municipalities are dealt with in a comprehensive and interesting fashion, and the relative merits of popular or private control of utility services are examined with care. In the field of public welfare Johannesburg's self-government has been limited, it is stated, by the fact that public education, from the first, has been a responsibility of the central government and in the sphere of culture the municipality has not been adventurous. Here again, Johannesburg has apparently been influenced by the British tradition. In common with other highly industrialised areas Johannesburg and its district have been moving towards the use of regional government for certain purposes, and some valuable experiences are recorded of joint action by neighbouring municipalities.

In his section dealing with the internal structure of city government Mr. Maud enters on a subject full of interest at the present time when administrators are exercised over the relation between the elected member and the officials, or the amateur and the professional element, as they have been described, and when controversy has been raised as to the character and quality of the supply of the former. Mr. Maud analyses existing thought and practice in various countries in regard to municipal control. He finds remarkable contrasts in almost all places outside the British Commonwealth. In these other countries there is practically no instance of a town council combining the functions of a deliberative and an executive body. There are few examples of a system which places so much responsibility on the ordinary elected citizen as under the British and, incidentally, the Johannesburg practice, and town government is grouped about some centre, with a single person or a set of persons, which occupies a dominating or, at least, a superior position within the whole machinery of government. Mr. Maud then discusses the Burgomaster and Magistrat systems in vogue in Germany before the revolution of 1933 which, by greater reliance on the professional element, showed a higher degree of efficiency and a better sense of



## *Public Administration*

direction than the more democratic systems of city government. The rich variety of types of city government in the United States of America is also described with its three main divisions—the mayor-council type, the commission, and the council-manager plan; the latter being a drastic experiment in American city government designed at first to meet exceptional circumstances but steadily becoming more popular. There are signs, even in Great Britain, of a growing interest in the central principle underlying this idea of a professional city manager in view of the growing complexity of local government administration, the inability of the average elected member to keep pace with legislative enactments and departmental decrees, and the growing apathy of the electorate except when some burning topic emerges which, too often, has no very close association with the issues of good government. Mr. Maud examines in particular whether the emergence of such a plan is a confession of the people's failure in the art of self-government or is a retreat from democracy in the direction of bureaucratic professionalism. He inclines to the view that the movement has grown rather from a profound discontent in its country of origin with the operations of party politics in city administration and to a desire for efficiency in the business sense of the word, even at the expense of the ideal of self-government.

One of the most interesting chapters is that dealing with the relations of the ordinary men and women in the street to their representatives on the city council, particularly in the circumstances of Johannesburg where half the adult population—the natives, largely representing the unskilled working-class section of the community—has from the first been disqualified from playing any part in the election of councillors. The white section of the community have, therefore, the responsibility of caring for the non-European half of the population without the latter having any direct say in the matter. It would be surprising, therefore, if all the wants of the disenfranchised section were adequately met. The council's revenue from rates forms a comparatively small proportion of its total revenue, since the majority of the utility services are financed by specific charges on the consumer of the various services and the rates that are levied only touch owners of land, the assessment being made, it should be noted, on the value of the land exclusive of any buildings. This latter point is of very great interest to us at the present time when so much of our housing shortage is being attributed to the faults of the rating system in this country. There is, therefore, in Johannesburg no financial relationship such as we find here and elsewhere between the rates and the general body of citizens. The

## Reviews

circle from which municipal candidates emerge is also more strictly drawn than in Great Britain.

A most interesting feature of the electoral system is the experimentation which has taken place in regard to proportional representation and the abolition of ward elections; but it is significant that to-day there now prevails a system of majority election in twelve wards. The author is by no means sure, however, that the method of proportional representation has, in consequence, been proved the wrong system for an accurate reflection of public opinion and for the proper representation of minorities: nor is he convinced that the system of representation by wards is the best in the interest of attracting as candidates for the council the right type of public-spirited individual free from the influence of immediate local circumstances.

The place of party politics in municipal affairs next occupies attention, the main danger, as the author sees it, being the introduction of issues which are quite irrelevant to the good government of an area. It is agreed, says Mr. Maud, that the intrusion of the party system has undoubted advantages in that it tends to secure a coherent consistent policy throughout various departments of a civic system and helps to create a lively interest among the electorate. The author questions, however, whether these advantages must necessarily be purchased at the cost which has usually to be paid. There is nothing to be ashamed of in party politics, asserts Mr. Maud, but the division ought to be upon purely local issues. The ideals in any self-governing community ought to be flexible and consistently adapted to the changing local conditions. The check upon abuse ought to be a lively and intelligent interest on the part of the electorate, and this, in turn, depends probably less upon party politics, or even the press, than upon the education of the people into full citizenship. For this work the author is anxious to see the schools accepting more responsibility. In this he has certainly touched a chord which is vibrant in all democratic countries to-day as an aftermath of the recent European crisis. In Great Britain particularly, the air is resounding with exhortations to the schools to educate youth more definitely along the lines of our democratic faith. The issue is not without its controversial side, however, for at the same time we have the insistent cry to keep all politics out of the schools. If the educational service in this country is to accept Mr. Maud's challenge and educate for citizenship it has indeed an interesting yet dangerous road to travel.

The book then turns to a review of city government actually in operation. As in Great Britain no clear division is drawn in Johannesburg between the sphere of the council and that of the officials or between the functions of determining a policy and carrying out that policy. The working of the committee system in municipal

## *Public Administration*

affairs is described with a completeness which should make comparison with any other system a matter of ease for those interested in this particular aspect of administration. The relations between committees appointed to look after a single function of the city's affairs, such as public health, and those committees entrusted with the general oversight of an aspect of the council's work, such as law and finance, are discussed, and the rare instance cited of a committee whose function is to review the work of the council as a whole and to bring to its notice the relevance of any new plan or experiment to the existing scheme of municipal development. Would that this idea of long-term planning could be introduced into civic affairs generally. The central purchasing of stores and material required for all departments and the control of expenditure through a suspensory power granted to the finance committee are noteworthy features which are touched upon. The size of committees, delegation of functions to them, their membership, the co-option of persons with special interests, and the relation of the council to its committees are matters which are fully dealt with, and Mr. Maud's observations on the advantages and disadvantages of various practices are of extreme importance to all who are concerned with the need for adjusting local government machinery in this country to the needs of the times.

The author pays tribute to the part played by the professional officer in the present success of municipal government in Johannesburg. The nature of his function is assessed as twofold, namely, the giving of advice and the carrying into effect of decisions arrived at by the council. In his remarks on the appointment of officials, Mr. Maud stresses the danger in the present system in Johannesburg of invariably seeking their heads of departments from the rank and file. An interesting observation is in regard to the need for the institution of some system of competitive examination for entrants to the local government service and their qualifications and subsequent training. Another fact pointed out, but seldom appreciated by members of local authorities, is that the departmental organisation of the officials is of even greater importance to the council than its committee system. With the growing volume of intricate administrative work this should receive greater prominence in the future. No less important is the relation between the council and its officials, the protection of officials from public criticism, and the existence of machinery for the settlement of staff grievances and difficulties. In this latter respect Johannesburg seems to be singularly unfortunate in having no joint consultative body. It will be of particular interest to readers of this journal to learn that Mr. Maud strongly advocates the establishment of a voluntary organisation for the study and discussion of administrative problems.

## Reviews

Johannesburg's chief problem of internal organisation is apparently that of co-ordination of work both of committees and of city departments. In the latter regard there is mentioned an interesting experiment made in Johannesburg of a departmental committee composed of the municipality's head officials. Mr. Maud sees such a committee being an extremely useful piece of administrative machinery in advising the council as to where policy seemed inconsistent, whether there was overlapping and whether there were gaps to be filled in the arrangements. A further important suggestion is the establishment of a research section of the town clerk's department consisting of a few specialists engaged in the study of contemporary municipal problems. It is with considerable sympathy that local government officers will view these attempts to mobilise the expert advice of a municipality. The importance of such machinery is apparent in regard to town planning and the related question of the provision of housing and the timeous and economical provision of services and amenities in new districts.

The finance of city government is described by Mr. Maud as the petrol which makes the machinery work. As already gathered, in the raising of its revenue Johannesburg has not followed the British system of rating lands and buildings. In this they are fortunate, for the iniquities of our rating system have been largely to blame for various difficulties of local government during the last hundred years. Many of the parsimonious habits of British local government bodies are derived from a feeling that increases in the rates must be avoided at all costs without giving serious thought to the benefit which might accrue to the community from improved services. The discouragement of enterprise and new building, in particular, is another unsatisfactory result of the British rating system. For many years there has been talk in this country of taking as a basis of rating the site value; but nothing has been done and the rating system of Great Britain is, in principle, substantially the same as it was a hundred years ago.

Mr. Maud deals at some length with the question of preferential rating as applied to mining, railway, and agricultural properties, a topic of considerable interest to those who are specially concerned in the derating provisions in this country under the Local Government Act of 1929. A feature of the financial practice of Johannesburg is the fixing of the rate at a maximum figure, which must not be exceeded except by sanction of the Transvaal Government. Municipalities in this country will be envious of the fact that on only two occasions has the statutory maximum of sevenpence in the pound been exceeded. From the evils of such an arbitrary limitation of assessment Johannesburg has, however, not been entirely free. The

## *Public Administration*

smallness and the uniformity of the rating are largely due to the city having escaped the necessity of building up welfare services and services such as education and public assistance, which are borne on the central funds of the country. The raising of as much revenue as possible from direct charges to consumers is also a material reason. Nevertheless, the two striking features of the municipal finances are, firstly, that the council is almost wholly self-supporting, and, secondly, that so small a proportion of the revenue derives from direct taxation. In contrast to towns in Great Britain which receive upwards of 40 per cent. of their financial support from central sources, the municipal budget of Johannesburg, since the beginning of the present century, has been balanced almost without assistance from government sources, either provincial or national. Such a condition of affairs will be illuminating to those administrators in this country who face with alarm the increasing tendency to place on the shoulders of local government bodies the burdens of services which are national in character with consequent need for still greater financial aid from the Treasury and consequent control. It is another question, however, whether these same administrators would agree with the desirability of a policy which virtually relieves the rates through making large profits from municipal trading. The author, indeed, would like to see the rating system of Johannesburg modified from one based entirely on site values to a system of differential rates as between sites and improvements. This, he thinks, besides encouraging a rising valuation of the city as a whole instead of its present almost static position would enable some of the existing special charges to be dispensed with, thus favouring householders who, under the present system, seem to suffer as compared with the owners of business premises.

In Johannesburg, as in Great Britain, the determination of questions of jurisdiction as between central authority and the municipality have been left to the judiciary as also matters of dispute arising out of the municipality's method of carrying out its duties, but, latterly, within the local framework, Johannesburg has been left remarkably free from central control when viewed from the British experience. In this respect she has been more like cities of the United States of America, which are generally more free from administrative control by central authorities than cities in any other part of the world. Freedom from control, however, may bring losses in its train, not the least of which is the absence of that expert guidance and assistance so freely given by central departments in Great Britain to local government bodies. The author hopes that there will be an integration of the various administrative organs in South

## Reviews

Africa which have contact with the municipalities, and that this unified service may attract in time as high a type of official as does the Civil Service in this country, but he feels that whatever may happen in this direction Johannesburg will require chiefly to rely for inspiration in the future as in the past upon her own resources.

It is for her to set a standard to other cities in South Africa and to adopt her own machinery of self-criticism and research. The city council of Johannesburg has reason to congratulate itself on the magnitude of its achievements. It has been the city's loss, however, that education and welfare services generally have been in other hands. Her methods of city government have grown more efficient and reliable with the years. The main structure of government is sound. She has considerable freedom from external control and is in methods of finance largely her own master. Her chief problem is to discover the real interests of the citizens and to arouse a more lively concern among the electorate. For this the city needs sensitive, disinterested and wise leadership both in regard to the administration and the council itself. To achieve this, however, Johannesburg has no need to revolutionise her affairs, but rather to adapt her simple system of government to the changing needs of the community as a whole.

Mr. Maud's fine survey has been given an appropriate setting in the shape of a well-printed and illustrated book, which should find a worthy place on the bookshelves of research workers, administrators, and all who are interested in the art and science of government. Everyone will find something of interest and profit within its pages. It would, in particular, be an excellent basis for study by groups of the Institute of Public Administration. J. B. FRIZELL.

### American Cities

*History of American City Government. The Colonial Period.* By ERNEST S. GRIFFITH, Dean of the Graduate School, The American University, New York. (Oxford University Press, 1938.) \$3.75.

THIS book covers the period to 1775 when administration ceased to be British. The later periods will be dealt with in subsequent volumes. The word city in American usage means urban community. During the period covered by this book a city or corporation means little more than a village or small community of houses often of an agricultural character. At the end of the period the three largest cities, viz., New York, Philadelphia and Boston are estimated to have had populations of 23,000, 28,000 and 17,000 respectively.

In the American colonies local government followed very much the lines of local government in England. Generally the basis of government of the city was the charter granted by the colonial



## *Public Administration*

governor as agent of the Crown. Sometimes the charters were varied or extended by the provincial assembly, a popularly elected body, subject to a right of disallowance vested in the Crown which was rarely exercised. As in England there was great variety in the powers conferred, and an absence of any coherent and uniform system of administration.

The author has been at great pains to examine every conceivable source of evidence and there is a wealth of references. The book is difficult to read, not owing to any fault on the author's part but because few, if any, general principles can be extracted from the mass of detail. A better picture might have been obtained if the author had followed the example of the Webbs in their volumes on "*The Manor and the Borough*," by giving a consecutive account of government in a few cities, e.g., New York and Philadelphia. As it is, one has to put together a large number of references, with the help of the index, in order to find out the method of appointment and functions of the Mayor, Aldermen, Council, Recorder, Town Clerk and other officers.

In England during this period most of the municipal corporations were close corporations, that is, there was co-option, not popular election, of the Mayor, Aldermen and Council (if any). In colonial America there were relatively fewer close corporations. The sturdy individuality of the earlier settlers made a difference in this respect. In places like New York (originally New Amsterdam—a Dutch settlement) the Dutch influence must have had some effect. The author states, "The early and middle decades of the 17th century saw Holland in the vanguard of civilisation and enjoying her golden age. Measured by the extent of popular education and the democratic nature of her institutions she was almost two centuries ahead of her time on the Continent and well in the van of England." On the subject of co-option versus popular election, it has to be borne in mind that at this time in the American as in the English boroughs popular election meant election by the freemen or freeholders, who might be a small proportion of the total adult population. Whatever the method of appointment might be, the selection was from the ranks of the gentry and the well-to-do.

The author states (p. 257): "By 1775 no specific type of municipal government had been evolved. Of the seven largest communities, only one (New York City) was under the control of a democratically elected comprehensive city government." This statement is not easily reconcilable with what he says later (p. 326): "The patronage at the Governor's disposal in New York City was considerable. The Mayor, Recorder, Town Clerk and Clerk of the Market were all his appointees." Also (p. 200): "The request (1730)

## Reviews

on the part of New York City to be allowed to choose locally those officers (Mayor, Recorder, etc.) then appointed by the Governor was not granted."

We are apt to regard public health as the chief function of local government, but municipal institutions in those days, either in England or America, had little to do with health. The corporation in these "cities" managed the corporate lands, particularly the common lands where communal agriculture was carried on, regulated trades so as to preserve the privileges of the freemen, controlled markets and fairs, licensed public houses and generally maintained law and order. There was provision, not necessarily by the corporation itself, for poor relief and also (more than in England) for education of the young. The Mayor and Aldermen exercised judicial and legislative as well as administrative functions. Sometimes the charter expressly limited the sphere of operations, sometimes it gave full liberty to do anything that was not repugnant to the law of England and the province. The provincial assembly exercised a certain amount of control, for instance, in regard to the levying of rates and taxes for local purposes. Money was raised in all sorts of ways, by poll tax, tax on capital or annual value of real estate, or on cows, horses, pigs, etc. The author states that the property tax was ultimately to prove by far the most significant contribution of the colonial period to the subsequent course of American fiscal development. The course of evolution was towards taxation of capital value of real estate. "In one important and to some extent decisive particular the Colonies broke with English custom. This was the policy—tentative in many cases, but growing—of including unimproved land in the property to be taxed" (p. 317).

We read of the leasing at New York of portions of the water front to Aldermen and their relatives and the letting of contracts at Philadelphia and other places to Council members. In those days no serious objection was taken to such practices. On the whole, however, there is no reason to suppose that these cities were not reasonably well governed. It is interesting to recall that the sweeping condemnation passed in 1835 by a Royal Commission on the English municipal corporations is regarded by the Webbs as not justified on the facts, the report of the Commission being in their view a violent political pamphlet to serve party ends. The very sapient remarks of the Webbs on this subject near the end of the second volume of "*The Manor and the Borough*" deserve the attention of all students of local government. Serious defects are admitted, particularly the lack of adaptation of areas to functions and the excessive independence of these small units of administration, but it is not considered that there is an essential remedy for such defects in the mere substitution

## Public Administration

of popular election for co-option or for election by a small group of freemen.

The later volumes of the "History of American City Government" should increase in interest as they come nearer to our own day. A just appreciation of the present volume is only possible when the series is complete.

W. A. Ross.

### Housing in America

*Housing Comes of Age.* By MICHAEL W. STRAUS and TALBOT WEGG. 259 pp. (Oxford University Press, New York.) \$2.75; (Humphrey Milford.) 10s. 6d.

*Housing Year Book, 1938.* Edited by COLEMAN WOODBURY. 315 pp. (National Association of Housing Officials, Chicago.)

THERE are many large towns in Great Britain which have built municipal housing estates of 25,000 tenancies and over, and our total building programme since the war comprises about three and a half million houses, a million and a half built with the aid of a Government subsidy and two million provided by private enterprise without State assistance. To a British observer, therefore, the numerical results of America's first effort in "slum clearance," namely, 51 projects, containing in all 21,800 dwellings, do not at first sight seem impressive. But a perusal of "Housing Comes of Age," written by two officials who have played an active part in the carrying out of this first Government experiment in low-cost housing, convinces the reader that this is indeed a tremendous achievement, and a forerunner of still greater achievements in the future, considered in the light of the immense psychological and material obstacles which had to be overcome before the experiment could be initiated, and the shortness of the time in which it was brought into being.

The conception of federal and local government action in housing has had to fight a long and arduous battle in the United States against intense individualism, and the passionate objections of "private enterprise" to anything in the nature of "government interference" in the sacred realm of profit-making. Hence housing legislation has had to disguise itself in various forms to gain acceptance at all—as a means of relieving unemployment, pulling down unsightly slums, stabilising real estate values, reducing crime and disease—as anything at all rather than the straightforward provision of good housing for those sections of the population who could not afford to pay for the accommodation they needed. The Government succeeded in beginning its housing programme in 1933, not as a necessary measure of social reform, but largely as a means of providing employment for the sorely stricken building industry. This volume tells the exciting, and often

## Reviews

humorous, story of the many vicissitudes which had to be overcome before the 51 projects were completed.

The book provides a satisfactory reply to the numerous criticisms which have been launched against the Government's efforts, notably that Government construction costs are much higher than those of private builders, and that the rents of the completed dwellings are also unduly high. But the critics fail to draw attention to the handicaps accepted by the Housing Division, namely, that they paid good wages, worked under various forms of labour restrictions in the interests of spreading employment as widely as possible, submitted to strict inspection of work done, and frequently included in their construction costs items such as community facilities, street paving, shops and clinics, and landscaping. Again, when considering rents, it has to be remembered that the average rent of \$6.95 per room per month charged in the Government projects paid not only for the bare necessities of shelter, but included in addition, heat, hot water, electric light and refrigeration, and gas for cooking.

The Wagner-Steagall Housing Act of 1937 has now given definite recognition to the principle of federal and local government responsibility for low-cost housing, and has set up the United States Housing Authority to direct future activity in this field. An enormous amount of work still remains to be done before the one-third of America's population who are at present living in substandard housing conditions begin to "live as Americans should." But a beginning has been made, and there is every reason to hope that rapid and continuous progress will now be the order of the day in dealing with this vitally important social problem.

The National Association of Housing Officials have performed a useful service in producing, for the third year in succession, a "Housing Year Book," which not only gives a full review of all official and private agencies dealing with housing throughout the United States, but also contains interesting chapters on housing progress in other countries—Germany, Canada, England—and on subjects such as America's "Greenbelt" towns and the place of the architect in modern housing.

The special section on housing management, contributed by Mr. Abraham Goldfeld, draws attention to a present deficiency of major importance in America's housing development. Although it is realised that a new public service is rapidly coming into being, and that management is the factor which will "make or break low-rent housing," very little has been done in the direction of providing systematic training for officials who are to undertake the onerous and complicated duties of housing estate management. What has been done so far—the organisation of an intensive course of training

## *Public Administration*

extending over only a few months, inaugurated in Washington in 1935, and a course of twenty lectures and field trips opened in New York University at the beginning of 1938—can hardly be construed as more than gestures towards the problem.

It may be argued that America has not yet begun to re-house the poorest sections of her population, and that, therefore, the problem of management has not yet had to be faced in its most urgent form. But an adequate system of training for such an important branch of administration cannot be improvised at short notice, and, if America is to avoid some of the costliest mistakes committed in other countries, she will be well advised to give this matter her earnest attention at the earliest possible moment.

MARGARET S. MILLER.

### **Labour Courts**

P. S. King & Sons. Pp. 220. 5s.

THIS report from the I.L.O., containing several chapters explaining the way in which Labour Courts have been established in no fewer than twenty-three countries, makes the interesting point that no country has ever abandoned the system, once it was established, and that in most cases there have been large extensions. As far back as the fifteenth century there were in France councils of "*prud'hommes*," a term the Italians, four hundred years later, turned into "*probiviri*" or, in the English of Shakespeare, "grave and reverend signiors." In 1806, Napoleon gave the French councils a judicial standing and before the end of the century Germany, Belgium, Austria, Norway and Switzerland had all established Labour Courts. Since then there have been a great many additions and the Report shows that the newer judicial labour tribunals have gained enormously from the experience of the early ones.

Probably, and indeed almost certainly, the most important point has been the recognition of equal representation of employer and worker. No one who has not experienced it can realise the feeling of helpless, hopeless indignation when a workers' representative is on a committee on which he may be a minority of one and in 1848, France established equal representation. This recognition, on the face of it, would create a body something like our Civil Service Arbitration Tribunal but practice and experience have made the Courts a special branch of the legal system of the countries in which they have been adopted. There can be no refusal to submit; a summons is issued in the ordinary way and must be obeyed, when the usual Court procedure is followed and the judgment is binding on both parties, subject, in some countries, to the right of appeal. It follows from the foregoing that the result must be accepted, though it may please

## Reviews

neither party. In this country grave strikes have followed the refusal of one side or other to accept the conclusions of arbitrators they have agreed to appoint, but obviously a graver risk is run in striking against a judicial decision. The Courts are not just confined to making legal decisions for they act both as conciliators and arbitrators, and the distinction in their procedure is shown in what the Report calls "dispute about right," *i.e.*, the interpretation or application of an existing right and "dispute about interests," a claim for an alteration of an existing right or a new claim altogether. The former normally comes before a Labour judge, the latter, normally, before an arbitrator or conciliator. The procedure of the Courts naturally varies and it is only possible to touch on one or two of the variations. In Norway, the Courts cannot function until the parties themselves have made an effort to settle the matter. In the U.S.S.R. certain classes of disputes must go to joint conciliation boards, before the Courts can adjudicate, and in Italy certain notices must be given. These are matters of detail rather than principle and more important is the fact that many Courts discourage the professional advocate.

The Report introduces a slight touch of humour in the remark that the Courts were instituted to give the worker a tribunal which was at once prompt, convenient and cheap, for these qualities are desired by every honest litigant, worker or otherwise, but obviously they are not only more important to the worker but in many cases all important, for, as we are truly told, the worker must in many cases bear gross injustice, simply because he has neither time nor money to go to law.

The expenses of the Courts are provided in various ways, but little or nothing falls upon the parties save their own expenditures, and not only are the Courts largely resorted to but in the countries which have set them up a judiciary which really understands and appreciates labour questions has been evolved. The stupid questions one hears put to workmen witnesses in this country would be impossible. "Why do you appear in Court with such filthy hands," thundered a Chairman of the Bench to a witness, "I've a great mind to order you out." Fortunately, a Labour magistrate present was able to explain that working as the man did with black oil every day it was impossible for him to have the lily-white hands of a lawyer, and the Chairman subsided, but he had thoroughly unsettled the witness, who tried vainly to hide his hands and naturally stumbled in his evidence.

It is impossible to end this inadequate review of an excellent volume without a reference to the fact that this country, leading as it does in so many Labour matters, has no Labour Courts. The reasons are two. The average British trade union fears the law like



## *Public Administration*

the very devil, and a lawyer's letter will give the executive a fit of the jitters. There are one or two unions which are a little too fond of law, but they are a small minority, and the majority will put up with all sorts of extortion and injustice rather than resort to a court where they do not understand the language and where they have an acute feeling that both judges and counsel belong to another class.

The other reason is that the trade unionist is conservative. He has read and been told of the bias of the judiciary against the worker, and cannot realise that both legislation and lawyers change. It would be idle to say that he has no ground whatever for his dislike of the law, for few laymen love law, but he carries his fear too far.

Years ago, a proposal akin to Labour Courts used to come up annually at the Trades Union Congress with Ben Tillet as its protagonist and a few of us as supporters. We were always heavily defeated and always for the same reason. No lawyer, however eminent, could be trusted to deal honestly with a trade union.

If the members of every union executive in the country would study "Labour Courts" they would reach a different conclusion.

G. H. STUART-BUNNING.

# Notes

## PROMOTION PROCEDURE—WHITLEY COMMITTEE'S REPORT

By A. J. WALDEGRAVE

THE report of the Sub-Committee on Promotion Procedure, recently ratified by the National Whitley Council and issued to Departments by the Treasury, makes no revolutionary changes in the procedure which was established in the Civil Service, following the first Whitley report on the subject, some sixteen years ago. The new report states that "it was agreed by both sides that the general principles embodied in the First Report and the procedure there outlined had been proved valuable by experience." The main features of the original report, thus endorsed, were the setting up of Promotion Boards and the introduction of a standard form of Annual Report on members of the staff eligible for promotion.

The most important change desired by the Staff Side of the Sub-Committee in the constitution of Promotion Boards was the inclusion on the Board of a staff nominee. With this proposal the Official Side found itself unable to agree, and the change will therefore not be made. The Official Side was also unable to agree to the proposal that the practice in operation at the Admiralty, of allowing Annual Reports to be scrutinised and commented on by a representative of the Staff Side, should be made general.

The chief alteration introduced by the Sub-Committee is in the method of marking employed in filling up Annual Reports. The original scheme provided for only three categories in reporting on the qualities shown in the performance of an officer's present duties—A, above average; B, average; and C, below average. Similarly, only three gradings were provided for reporting on degree of fitness for promotion—A, Eminently qualified; B, Qualified; and C, Not at present qualified. The Sub-Committee agree that finer distinctions than those afforded by three gradings are desirable and in future there will be the following classification:—For performance of duties in present grade—Outstanding, Very good, Satisfactory, Indifferent, Poor. For degree of fitness for promotion—Exceptionally well qualified, Highly qualified, Qualified, Not yet qualified. It is well known that the closer markings thus recommended have already been adopted by a number of Departments, usually by affixing pluses or minuses to the standard A, B and C categories.

Further changes introduced are a ban on passing notes or copies of reports from one reporting officer to another and a provision that informing an officer of an adverse report shall be at discretion instead of being compulsory.

It appears from the report of the Sub-Committee that the Staff Side would have been prepared to attempt an elaboration of the form of Annual Report with the object of guiding reporting officers towards greater uniformity in their standards of appraisalment; and mention is made of the "pointers" which are in use in some Departments for clearing the minds of reporting officers in their judgment of the nature of the qualities listed on the form. The Official Side did not, however, think such elaboration necessary. One sees in the wording of the report a hint that they

## *Public Administration*

feared lest an elaboration of the form of Annual Report might give it the fallacious appearance of being an instrument of greater precision than it can ever really become.

The changes actually agreed upon are certainly improvements and are to be cordially welcomed, but their relative meagreness cannot fail to raise the question whether the machinery of promotion is now to be regarded as having reached practical perfection or whether, alternatively, more study and experiment are necessary before a further advance can be made. The "Whitley Bulletin," the periodical circular issued by the Staff Side of the Civil Service National Whitley Council, frankly strikes a note of disappointment in recording the result of the work of the Sub-Committee, saying, "The perfect system does not appear yet to have been discovered. The initial difficulty of securing a standard basis of appraisalment among the various, and often numerous, reporting officers defies solution."

The editor goes on to remark that "there is a good deal of uneasiness among the staffs and a measure of suspicion of the ways and methods of Promotion Boards which is largely attributable to complete exclusion, except in rare instances, of the Staff Side from their deliberations."

There must, however, with the issue of the new report, be acceptance for a long, if indefinite, period of the machinery as it now stands. As a piece of mechanism it must be regarded as the best available. But nobody expects it to work automatically and of itself to ensure perfection of choice. It becomes all the more important therefore that attention should be given, both by Official and Staff Sides, to the manner in which the machinery is operated. The more there is common understanding of the principles by which Promotion Boards are guided in performing their functions, and in utilising the information given to them, and the more there is assurance that they really act according to principle and not arbitrarily, the greater will be the confidence in them of the staff. This reflection leads the writer of the present note to make the following observations on two points of difficulty which arise under the agreed promotion procedure and to suggest, on the basis of former experience of the problems of promotion in a large Department, lines on which the difficulties may be met.

The first of these difficulties is that of supplementing the analytical approach to an appraisalment of an officer's qualities, which is the essence of the method of the Annual Report, with the synthetic judgment which sees the officer as a whole person, individual and unique. Where staffs are small and the personal touch exists, there is no difficulty, except the important one of avoiding prejudice on the one hand and favouritism on the other, and this difficulty the cool objectivity of the Annual Report helps to overcome. Where, however, staffs are large or scattered it is not so easy to get the synthetic view and to say with confidence how Smith, Brown and Jones compare with one another. Yet every effort should be made to obtain the personal as well as the paper comparison.

One method is the interview. But there is danger in relying over-much on the interview, for it is a device always handicapped by brevity and temperament, however honest the effort to conduct it with skill and fairness. Much better is the judgment built on the personal knowledge of the candidates possessed by a group of supervisory officers who are or have been in close contact with them. It is not necessary for each of the group to know all the candidates. It is sufficient if their acquaintance is so distributed as to give lines of comparison. For example, supervisory officers A, B and C are questioned together (it being important to question them in the presence of one another if possible) about the fitness of candidates X, Y and Z for a vacant post. If A knows only X and Y, B knows only X and Z, while C knows only Y and Z, it will nevertheless be possible, in a joint discussion, to place the three candidates in relation to one another and to decide which is likely to be the best of the three. Where selection has to be made from a large

## Notes

number of candidates, then the larger (within reason) the group of supervisory officers the greater will be the chances of finding a sufficient degree of overlapping personal knowledge of the candidates.

The consultation of the group in the presence of one another tends to check extravagant laudation, and helps in the erection of that common standard of judgment, the procuring of which, if it is not, as the "Whitley Bulletin" says, a difficulty that "defies solution," is indeed a most serious one.

The second point which is suggested for attention is that of the practice to be adopted in balancing seniority and merit against one another. There is now general acceptance of the principle that, in making promotions, regard for ability should outweigh that for seniority in an increasing degree as the posts to which promotion has to be made become those of greater responsibility. For the lower supervisory posts seniority may be allowed to count even to a predominant degree, but for the higher posts outstanding ability must be the first consideration. As the posts rise in the scale of responsibility the ratio of seniority to merit becomes inverted. This is a comprehensible general principle, and it is accepted in the Whitley agreement, but the actual application of it by Promotion Boards often fails to command the appreciation of the staff. This is partly because it is not sufficiently recognised that the officer of special promise must be given an early opportunity of emerging so that he may become accustomed to work of the more difficult and responsible sort while still comparatively young, and may gain the experience which, if he proves good enough, will fit him for a yet higher post. Apart from this, however, the adjustment between seniority and merit often appears to be subject to erratic and arbitrary behaviour on the part of the authorities awarding promotion and to be carried out on no consistent principle.

The fourfold grading authorised by the new report provides an opportunity of considering the possibility of introducing some consistency of practice in this matter. Promotion Boards will have before them lists of the officers within the range of promotion, graded—Exceptionally well qualified, Highly qualified, Qualified and Not yet qualified (to be known presumably as A, B, C and D). Their first task, and a vital one, is to assure themselves that the markings are justified. Neglect of this will be ruinous. But assuming the grading properly done, on what principle should selection be made from the three qualified classes A, B and C?

A reasonable and consistent principle would, it is suggested, be as follows:—At intervals determined by the circumstances of the Department, particularly the prospect of future vacancies in still higher posts, an "A" man is promoted without regard to seniority, passing over "B" men as well as "C" men. But not all "A" men will be promoted as soon as they are thus graded. Normally the senior "B" man will go up—the senior "B" man; for if it is agreed that the "B" marking is deserved there is no justification for dodging about among the officers so graded, promoting a junior over his senior and then going back to promote the senior. In qualification of this, however, it must be observed that gradings, once made, are not necessarily fixed for all time, and that there may be passage from the B grading to the A and vice versa. Some men develop and others deteriorate, and all are liable to be misjudged.

Finally, an occasional promotion will be given to a "C" man, notwithstanding that "B" men are available. If the man selected is one who on grounds of character has the general respect of his colleagues, so much the better. It helps to keep a staff in good heart if there is hope of recognition of really faithful and conscientious service which makes no claim to brilliance. But a Department cannot afford to carry too many dull officers in the higher ranks, even though they may be good fellows.

The foregoing suggestions are made in the hope of illustrating the fact that

# Public Administration

although the new report may have carried the subject as far as formal prescriptions are possible, there are directions in which common thought and understanding on this difficult subject should be pursued.

## EFFICIENCY IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES

[*Three papers submitted to the Conference of the Institute of Public Administration at Adelaide on 27th September, 1938.*]

### (A) THE IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIAL AND WORKING CONDITIONS IN RELATION TO GENERAL EFFICIENCY IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

By B. M. COMBE, A.U.A., *Education Department.*

PROBABLY the chief factors guiding a boy in his choice of employment are the salary, security of tenure, and avenues for advancement, offered. While the Service compares favourably with banks and insurance companies in regard to security, remuneration is on a lower scale. It seems to me that this gives big businesses an advantage over the Service in the initial selection of staff, and until higher salaries are paid they will continue to obtain the services of some brilliant boys who might well be otherwise attracted for the State.

However, the staff having been obtained, and the insistence on minimum education as a qualification ensures that the best candidates available are selected, it becomes necessary to get the best possible results out of it. What are the conditions under which these results are to be obtained?

The first condition—that of adequate remuneration—has already been mentioned. But the problem does not cease on the appointment of the junior clerk to the Service. When he has been working long enough to make his specialised knowledge valuable, it is essential that his pay be sufficiently adequate to retain him, otherwise the Government will lose many of its best brains, particularly of professional men and officers from such departments as Taxation, whose knowledge can be used outside.

No undertaking, be it private enterprise or government, is going to get the best from its employees unless there are plenty of avenues for advancement and the promotion of the ambitious and capable officer. The whole question of promotion is a difficult one, involving as it does the reconciliation of issues such as the reward for solid plodding and faithful service with advancement according to merit. Not so very long ago promotion was based almost entirely on seniority. While this may be a humanitarian method of advancement and ensures a certain degree of progress to most officers, it is detrimental to the Service generally. The best type of young man gradually loses all push and interest in improving and qualifying himself for better things, and the average or even less than average employee has an equal opportunity of reaching the top of the tree. This system has been supplanted to a great extent by the system of promotion on merit—that is to say, the man best qualified for the job gets it. This is the theory on which appointments beyond the automatic range are made, and despite some difficulties and disappointments it is, I think, one of the main reasons for the undoubted increase in the efficiency of the Service over the last twenty years.

Linked up with the question of promotion by merit is that of qualifications. Who is the man with the best qualifications and how can they be assessed? As it appears to me, each department is virtually closed to employees from other departments. Appointments from department to department in the higher positions are comparatively rare, partly because the man already in the department has so much practical knowledge of the principles on which it works, partly because of the reluctance of departmental heads possessing valuable officers to let them go,

## Notes

and partly because officers themselves resent the appointment of an outside man, no matter how superior his qualifications. At least a partial solution of this problem is offered by a system which allows an officer in his earlier years to gain experience in several departments. The knowledge thus obtained will enable him to compete for a wider range of classified positions when he is ready.

In addition to transfers of officers from department to department, I think intra-departmental transfers could be effected with profit to both employer and employee. On joining the staff of a department, a junior as a rule does postages first, and then will be attached to a particular branch, maybe spending two or three years on each little job. Probably the only knowledge he gains of the work of other branches is obtained when his own work brings him in contact with them. If it could be arranged that each junior officer had the opportunity for experience in as many branches as possible, he would surely become a more efficient officer thereby.

The third section of this qualifications scheme is that concerning external studies. Nowadays I suppose the majority of juniors joining the Service take up some form of study to equip themselves more fully for their careers. As these studies make them better officers, why not encourage them by some practical recognition in the form of either additional salary or at least in the remission of the fees they have paid? By thus enabling junior officers to equip themselves with practical and theoretical knowledge early in their careers, I do not see how the efficiency of the service can fail to be improved.

Every opportunity should be taken to encourage initiative in juniors. On this point, Sir William Beveridge has said "No man would ever be capable of a really first-rate position if he had not had responsible work before he was 30." It seems to be a failing in all Services, as far as I can see, that higher administrative officers will not delegate authority. A good administrator will allow his subordinate officers to exercise initiative as far as he reasonably can, as it not only frees him (the senior officer) from many minor anxieties, but encourages those under him to make decisions within their authority and be prepared to take the responsibility for such decisions.

As in every other walk of life, satisfactory results cannot be realised unless regular discipline is maintained. Naturally we all recognise this, but it is essential that such discipline apply to all members in the same degree. Favouritism causes lack of interest, open and hidden resentments, and loss of initiative, and efficiency must be appreciably affected.

Leaving the question of salaries, promotions and qualifications, I wish to say a word or two about accommodation. The Tomlin Report on the English Service, prepared in 1929-31, contained the following paragraph on this point:—

"Provision of suitable accommodation should not be regarded solely from point of view of cost of accommodation. No one can be expected to do his best work in a dingy and inconvenient office. The provision of up-to-date equipment and good accommodation is a contribution towards a contented staff which the employer can be fairly asked to provide. The resulting improvement in organisation and increase in efficiency will provide a good return on the outlay involved."

South Australia is rather poorly off in regard to the surroundings under which many of its departments work. I hardly think that the offices occupied by the Children's Welfare Department, for instance, would meet with the approval of the Tomlin Commission.

Bound up with this question is that of facilities for social intercourse between employees. Many of us probably never meet our co-workers after leaving the office each day. If there were some common meeting place, such as a club room, it would provide a chance for the development of a Service *esprit de corps*, and a meeting place for the discussion of common problems. The social intermingling



## Public Administration

of employees in different branches of the Service would in my opinion do much to facilitate co-operation in work involving more than one department. I think we will all agree that it is much easier to do business with an officer whom we know than with one who is a stranger.

In conclusion I might point out that the two most powerful Empires the world has ever known—the British Empire and the Roman Empire—have also been noted for their extremely capable Civil Services. If this is something more than coincidence, it must be realised that an efficient Civil Service plays a vital part in the welfare of the state or nation, and that, as a happy and contented Service will produce better results than one which is discontented and dissatisfied, any reasonable improvements which can be made in those conditions will be reflected in better service. Probably you have your own views on some of the points I have raised, and you are invited to join in the general discussion.

### (B) THE VALUE OF INTERCHANGE OF OFFICERS WITH (a) THE OTHER STATES, (b) GREAT BRITAIN.

By A. H. GREENHAM, A.C.U.A., *Secretary, Department of Agriculture.*

It is essential at the outset to get clearly fixed in our minds what is the aim of interchange of officers. If it is to secure for an officer a wider outlook, a greater understanding and all the unquestionable advantages of travelling either in the other States or abroad, then the value is undoubted, but in these respects it is more or less of personal value. As, however, the administrative authorities concerned will suffer some inconvenience, and perhaps loss, during the period of exchange, then it is reasonable to suppose that there should be some real value by which the authority can get, as it were, some return for its outlay. In other words, it must be a business proposition which can be reduced to a basis of pounds, shillings and pence. It is not sufficient to say that by the enlargement of outlook and the general experience gained a man's judgment will be improved and that he will therefore be a better officer. Although I think that is, by and large, true, it is an indirect benefit and one upon which it is almost impossible to place any real direct value. To establish value there must be a direct gain to the administrative authority of experience and training by which the officer or officers concerned will be more efficient, and better fitted to perform not only the duties upon which they are engaged, but also those which they will be called upon to fulfil in the future.

For many reasons, interchange of officers, both interstate and overseas, must be limited to a comparative few, and because of this fact the selection of them must be carefully made, dependent upon capacity, personality, and the ability to assume responsibility. To get the full value it is essential that once an officer has had the experience of interchange he must at a date not too far distant be given the opportunity whereby the experience and practical knowledge gained can be utilised to the particular as well as the general benefit of the authority concerned.

So far as interstate interchange is concerned, the value to the authority would probably be more related to the particular than to the general. Throughout the States there is a similarity between departments where identical results are produced, although the methods adopted to achieve those results vary considerably on account of local requirements and perhaps local conditions.

During the last twenty years there has been much more direct personal contact between administrative heads and sub-heads with their opposite numbers in all the other States, and it will, I think, be agreed that much good has come from this closer contact. This contact, being intermittent, however, does not affect very much more than the broad outline of policy. The effective administration of any

## Notes

Department depends very largely upon the organisation of the detail work entailed, and it is those engaged in organising detail work who would receive the greatest value from a period of interstate interchange.

By the nature of conditions within the Service, officers are very liable to become so immersed in the practice of routine that they only see the department from the limited viewpoint of their own particular job. In spite of reading and study it is difficult to develop the capacity to see one's work and department from the outside. It is so easy to fall into the error of thinking and acting from the viewpoint of one's limited experience only. Even a change in department very often has the effect of transferring the avenue of thought from the inside on one department to the inside of yet another department.

A system of interstate interchange would, in my opinion, give an opportunity to such officers to develop that wider outlook which would make them much more valuable officers in their own department. The very fact that he was removed from his familiar surroundings and placed in a related department in another capital city would give a mental stimulus. No longer would he be working with Tom, Ted and Harry, but with Mr. Robinson, Mr. Smith and Mr. Jones. The use of Christian names in offices may produce a happy social atmosphere, but it also tends to produce mental slothfulness. Seeing other systems in use to give results with which he is familiar should develop a critical attitude and cause him to examine the "whys" and the "wherefores" of all matters of routine. The time-honoured reason that things have been done this way for ten, fifteen or twenty years should no longer satisfy him. He would develop a curiosity on all matters departmental and not be sharply snubbed for such curiosity.

The practical result of a period of interstate interchange would be that he would return to his home department enlarged in outlook and able to see his work and department in proper perspective and with a well-balanced critical capacity which should be of great value to him and the department in his work. Finally, if the officer has been wisely selected for interchange, and if he has taken full advantage of his opportunities, the department will have an officer who by his experience will be better equipped to carry on his regular duties, and who at the first opportunity will be eligible for promotion within the department.

Considering the value of interchange of officers with Great Britain we meet an entirely different set of circumstances. It must be borne in mind that much administrative work which in South Australia is carried out by the Government, devolves upon Local Government in Great Britain; for example, education, public health, roads, public assistance, housing, police, water supply, sewerage, etc., etc., the central Government departments chiefly concerned with Local Government being the Ministry of Health and, to a lesser degree, the Home Office and the Board of Education. Many other departments, for example, the Admiralty, the War Office, the Foreign Office, Dominions Office, the Board of Trade, Ministries of Labour and Transport, etc., have no exact counterpart in our State Administrative System. Hence, the opportunities of interchange between officers of related departments would be extremely limited. Therefore the value to be derived would be very much more general than particular. That is to say, it could only be translated into value to the administrative authority in an indirect way. The personal value to the officer concerned would be considerable, but this would be more connected with an enlargement of outlook than with practical experience which could be applied to his home department. The experience would be so general that the possibility of defining where the value to the administrative authority arose would be very difficult. No one would deny that the opportunity of travelling to Great Britain and working side by side with the British Civil Service would be a wonderful experience and one which would enlarge the outlook and understanding of the officer concerned, but on account of the differing scope of

## Public Administration

Government activities in Great Britain, value from interchange of officers would accrue to the authority only in very special circumstances.

Summing up the matter, I am of opinion that the interchange of officers with other States would be of value to both the officer and his department, but the arrangement should be limited to officers between the automatic maximum and the semi-administrative class. Such officers should be selected on general capacity and ability, and should be restricted to those who have reasonable prospects of promotion within the department, so that the utmost benefit can be obtained from the experience gained.

With regard to interchange with Great Britain, direct value to the Government would only arise in very special cases where the knowledge, experience and understanding gained by the officer would be of practical assistance to him in the performance of his regular duties. It would be limited to administrative officers whose duties call for a wide outlook on the practices and principles of public administration, not only as applied to Australian conditions but also as applied in Great Britain and other countries abroad.

(C) SPECIALISED EDUCATION. (IS THERE A TENDENCY FOR EDUCATION IN SPECIALISED SUBJECTS TO REACH A SATURATION POINT IN THE SERVICE? IF SO, WHAT WILL BE THE EFFECT OF THE INCENTIVE TO FURTHER STUDY?)

By J. M. DONALDSON, A.U.A., *Department of Lands.*

My object in introducing this subject is to bring under open discussion certain lines of criticism which are continually being met with by officers engaged in courses of study. The movement towards an increased standard of education in the public service is growing rapidly, but at the same time there is undoubtedly quite a large body of the opinion that the education drive is being overdone. This opinion may be merely the outcome of apathy and a very human tendency to resist any form of progress, or the case may be adequately covered by *Æsop's* fable of "The Fox and the Grapes." On the other hand, there may be elements of truth in some of the arguments put forward. Whether this is so, seems to be a subject well suited for discussion at a conference of this nature.

For the purpose of this talk I use the word education in its narrowest sense; namely, the pursuit of set courses of study as laid down by the University and the various Institutes. To use the word in its wider sense would not be relevant to the present topic, since it is the attainment of academic qualification which is the object of most criticism.

I propose to deal more or less categorically with the more common questions and attempt some answer to each. In the first place, what is the object of inducing officers to engage in courses of study? Well, the primary object is to fit the student for the position of higher responsibility. Here it is usually objected that the qualified man is not necessarily more efficient than his fellow. This is undoubtedly true, but it does not constitute an argument against study since the issue is clouded by other factors, such as natural ability and that vast medium of education which we call practical experience. The man who has these advantages is fortunate, but few are so fortunate that they cannot gain any further benefit from education. Conversely, he who lacks these advantages may do much to rectify the omission by drawing on the accumulated experience of others through the process of studying. It has been said that everyone learns by experience: the wise man by other people's and the fool by his own. As for difference in ability, that which counts most is the ability to try, and study is at least evidence of this ability.

Lord Bacon, who laid down principles of Public Administration in the sixteenth century which are accepted to this day, was a staunch champion of education in the administrative sphere. Here is an extract from his "Advancement of Learning"—"And as for those particular seducements or indispositions of the

## Notes

mind for policy and government, which learning is pretended to insinuate, if it mislead by disproportion or dissimilitude of examples, it teacheth men the force of circumstances, the errors of comparisons and all the cautions of application; so that in all these it doth rectify more effectually than it can pervert."

A point frequently raised is that most of the diploma courses available to those who have to study at night are limited to specialised subjects and the knowledge gained through them is very often of little use in a large proportion of positions in the Service. Many people cannot see any benefit in setting out to acquire knowledge which is simply put on the shelf as soon as it is gained. If the only benefit received from a course of study was an accumulation of detailed knowledge, this attitude would be quite reasonable.

However, this is not the case. Of far more importance than the memorising of facts and figures is the development of the mind and the training in orderly habits of thought; in fact, the most valuable thing that can be learned is "how to learn." If two men of equal ability could be placed together on entirely strange work, it seems reasonable to assume that he who had acquired the habit of study would have the advantage.

I have already stated that the object of promoting education in the Service is to fit younger officers for positions of higher responsibility, but since these higher positions are comparatively few, what is the advantage of increasing indefinitely the number of students? Well, from the administrative point of view the advantage is obvious. Any improvement in the standard of personnel must reflect itself in increased efficiency of the Service as a whole, since anyone who has qualified for more responsible duties must necessarily have improved the performance of his present occupation.

There is, however, another point of view: the student's. Is this sufficient incentive for him to spend his evenings and quite a noticeable portion of his salary in study? Whilst "something accomplished, something done has earned a night's repose," there are many more pleasant ways of inducing sleep than wrestling with a text-book. I think the most potent inducement is the competitive spirit. Although the higher positions are limited in number, they are there to be obtained, and so long as there is the hope of ultimately securing advancement the incentive to junior officers to educate and improve themselves will remain. In the meantime, the student obtains many personal benefits of a more intangible nature, such as intellectual expansion and the development of tastes hitherto dormant.

This gives rise to a further question: Since the accumulation of knowledge is subservient to the intellectual development, what benefit can result from specialisation of education? Would not the same increase of efficiency and the same personal advantages accrue if officers were to follow their own tastes and inclinations in selecting subjects? For instance, entomology and botany would be just as beneficial as bookkeeping and statistics and, at the same time, would probably provide much more entertainment and recreation. Well, this is one way of dealing with over-specialisation, but it would be wasteful from the viewpoint of efficiency. The knowledge acquired by study may be a by-product, but it is a very useful and valuable one. It is in the utilisation of this by-product of the industry of education that our present civilisation differs from that of Ancient Greece.

I have already mentioned the point that very frequently the knowledge gained is of no value to the student in the course of his official duties. This is not an argument against further education. It is rather a matter for rearrangement. Administrative officers are already helping considerably in this respect by placing juniors in positions where their qualifications can be used to the best advantage, but this avenue is naturally limited by circumstances.

There is, however, another avenue which is at present entirely unexplored;

## *Public Administration*

that is, the co-ordination and direction of studies in relation to the requirements of the Service. A junior entering on a course of study has seldom the necessary experience to choose the most advantageous course for himself. Consequently, there results either a haphazard selection or a follow-the-leader attitude. The result is that some courses are over-populated whilst others equally useful are neglected. Hence we have a state of affairs akin to the late lamented depression, when the popular cry was over-production, but the real problem was one of distribution. The question of how this problem can best be solved I shall leave for your deliberation.

## Book Notes

**Recent Experiments in Constitution Making.** B. M. Sharma, Lucknow, 1938. Pp. 361. THE title of this book is not a good guide to its contents. The reader who takes it up hoping to find a discussion of post-war constitutions will be disappointed. What he will find is a sympathetic account of the growth of Fascism in Italy and Germany, of the development of Irish nationalism into its most recent expression—the constitution of Eire—and a brief summary of constitutional changes in the U.S.S.R. He will also find reports of such matters of current or recent international interest and importance as the Czech crisis, the conquest of Abyssinia, the Italian invasion of Spain and the German invasion of Austria. The connection between these last and that part of the book which bears more relation to its title is suggested by the first chapter, an account of the “Haves versus the Have-nots” and “democracies versus dictatorships.”

For any Indian or other student who has not read an account of Irish nationalism, or perused the newspapers of the last three years, this book will doubtless be of value. It will also give him an introductory account of the better-known facts connected with the growth of Fascism. That there is a theme in it to provide interest or enlightenment is not apparent. That there might have been is of course obvious. What are the common features of modern dictatorship? To what defects in democracy are they the sequel? Along what lines is hope to be found of a rational synthesis which may provide the basis of an improved system of government, national or international? All these and many other questions immediately suggest themselves for the reader's—and the author's—further consideration.

H. R. G. G.

**South African Journal of Economics.** Vol. 6, No. 3. September, 1938.

As might have been expected, the publication of the March and June issues of this Journal of wholesale criticisms by economists of the various Agricultural Marketing Schemes in the Union has not passed without comment. The September issue contains two articles in defence of the Government's policy. The first is in the form of a paper read before the Economic Society of the University of Cape Town by Mr. P. R. Viljoen, the Secretary to the Department of Agriculture, who observed in opening that though by virtue of his presence he might forfeit the usual immunity from criticism enjoyed by public servants he hoped to gain the equal assuring privileges enjoyed in professional discussion. The other paper is by Mr. J. R. McLoughlin, the General Secretary of the Livestock and Meat Industries Control Board. The arguments in general are those usually advanced in favour of planning as against individual trading, though Mr. McLoughlin goes rather further and bases himself not only on these general grounds but also on the allegation that the agricultural community are already paying vast subsidies owing to the protection of secondary industries and of labour.

To these papers Professor C. S. Richards contributes a short reply in which he deals with the particular facts, assertions and arguments produced by his opponents.



## Public Administration

His case may perhaps best be summed up in one of his own sentences: "Agriculture has been given not bargaining power but a weapon of sectional exploitation capable of the most indefensible misuse."

The Presidential address delivered at the August meeting of the Economic Society of South Africa is as usual reprinted. On this occasion Professor E. H. D. Arndt dealt with the safeguarding of the investor with particular reference to the Companies Act Amendment Bill which incorporates the recommendations of the Company Law Commission. He dealt with the provisions of the Bill, comparing them with United Kingdom law on the subject and adding certain suggestions of his own. One of these, to which apparently he attaches great importance, is of a kind which comes easily to those who have no responsibility for administration but which is inclined to make the blood of the orthodox civil servant run cold: "It is most desirable that the Registrar of Companies be endowed with wide additional but discretionary powers so that he may serve the community better without at the same time imposing 'intolerable burdens' upon those who need no special policing." What happens to the unfortunate Registrar if he finds after the event that certain people, contrary to his expectations, in fact, did need special policing is not stated.

There are articles on "Some Aspects of the European Coal Position" by Mr. P. H. Guenault, "Some Notes on the Scientific Validity of Forecast in Economics" by Mr. J. N. Reedman, and on "The Mathematical Study of Population" by Professor Edward Batson.

There are also the usual notes, memoranda and statistics.

J. K.

**The Yenching Journal of Social Studies.** Vol. 1, No. 1, June, 1938. Pp. 154. (Yenching University, Peking, China.) \$1.25 U.S.

PEKING, ancient capital of China, has been in Japanese hands since the outbreak of the present undeclared war. Yenching University, I am informed, is now under Japanese supervision. In any circumstances, but particularly in these, this Journal would be a credit to its promoters.

The general purpose of the Journal is to provide a clearing house or exchange bureau of the Social Services in China. It aims particularly at the co-ordination of research work and the popularisation of field research. Mr. An-Che Li, writing on the latter subject, states "... in China, where library research has been traditionally the only form of research in the academic world, a great movement needs to be started to emancipate intellectual creativeness from the dead weight of books so that it may find expression in realistic studies of Chinese society and culture."

The Journal is rather more catholic in its contents than PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

The article on "Recent Population Changes in China" describes the history of vital statistics in that country. These are revealed to be defective as to adequacy, continuity, method of collection, personnel and every other quality which the statistician desires. Greatly daring, however, the writer has collected a wide range of material including comparative tables from several sources and even goes so far as to suggest that the population in 1941 may be computed at 475 millions.

On the question of population trends it is brought out that the Chinese birth rate is high only when compared with corresponding rates in contemporary Western European countries, but this position is due to changes in the latter countries which, fifty years ago, were even more prolific than China. The actual rate of natural increase (balance of births over deaths) is low, if it exists at all. Incidentally this is the one statement in the Journal which seems to indicate Japanese influence, but this suggestion is quite possibly unfounded.

The review entitled "Professor Hung on the Ch'un Chi'u" is mainly of interest to Sinologists. Nevertheless, the layman can find some interesting parallels between

## Book Notes

the controversies here described and those concerning the authenticity of certain books in the Bible or the authorship of Shakespeare's plays. The topics are very similar. Is not such and such a passage an interpellation? Is the book a record of historical facts or is it allegorical? Was it written by Confucius or by some follower? The familiar causes of schism are all present.

There is an article very much in the American manner on "Intensive and Extensive Methods of Observing the Personality-Culture Manifold" and an interesting description of "The Kiaotsi Railway Consumers' Co-operative Society." The last article is on "Printing Paper: Its Supply and Demand in China." A section is devoted to "Notes and Queries" after the manner of our own PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION Notes.

There is a really penetrating review of Aldous Huxley's "Ends and Means," by M. F. M. Lindsay, who, it will be remembered, was formerly Assistant Director of the South Wales Industrial Survey.

If the Journal maintains the standard of excellence set in this, its first issue, then its editors are indeed making a valuable contribution to social research.

J. S. C.

## Institute Notes and News

### **Birmingham and West Midlands Regional Group**

Lord Stamp, this year's President of the Institute, gave the opening address of the new session on October 18th. The title of his address was "Is Public Administration a Science or an Art?"

Many people, Lord Stamp said, asserted that public administration is not a separate organic coherent science. It is, they argued, a collection of bits of other subjects lying within or special to particular areas or functions—bits of constitutional law, of history, of Government machinery and practice, of legal procedure and rights, of medicine, engineering, and accountancy, of psychology—all of which an administrator ought to know. But there are administrators doing work with more or less success at various costs in money and people and degrees of friction or satisfaction. All human successes must start as art.

Referring to the "intractable, impalpable, elusive personal factor," Lord Stamp said that dealings with men and women and their co-operation were the central dynamic of administration and the least scientific. The idea that leadership and administration could not be taught save by experience would die hard because experience showed it to be so largely true. "Leaders are born, not made."

It was clear that several factors must continue to keep administration, however many techniques it might be handling, in the realm of art. There was a continuous process of adjustment to changing outside factors, unknown, often unseen, which must defy generalisation or classification.

If they studied the achievements of great administrators, they would probably find they were artists, relying on their individuality, more than careful gatherers of highest common factors. Most of them succeeded in spite of glaring faults. But most of them had the power and pluck of decision, right or wrong, and most were so kind that they won, or so brutal that they scared men into action and co-operation.

On November 16th, Mr. J. R. J. Passmore, Chief Inspector of Training at the Ministry of Labour, spoke on training schemes for the unemployed. He described the three branches of training—local, instructional and Government training centres. Mr. Passmore summed up his own view of the achievements in this field by saying:—

"On the whole, I think we can say that this effort, while in relation to the total volume of unemployment may not be very big, has made some dent in that problem, and has, in any case, been worth while."

**Subscriptions for 1939.**—It will be a help and an economy if members will send their subscriptions, now due for 1939, to the office of the Institute (using the form distributed with this number of the Journal) and not wait to receive personal reminders.

**Southern Rhodesia Regional Group.**—The formation of a branch of the Institute in Bulawayo is under consideration. Mr. H. Holden, Chairman of the Southern

